

مكتبة الأهل

Monday September 23 1996
Albania D 0.50
Algeria L 2.50
Andorra FF 10
Austria S 13.76
Australia A 0.65
Belgium BF 65
Bolivia B 1.50
Brazil R 2.00
Canada C 1.25
Czech Republic KC50
Denmark D 8.50
Egypt E 0.50
Finland FM 12
France F 6.50
Germany DM 3.50
Greece D 4.00
Hong Kong HK\$ 25
Hungary H 210
Iceland IK 105
India Rs 55
Indonesia Rp 1,200
Italy L 3,000
Japan Y 110
Korea W 150
Latvia L 200
Lithuania Lt 200
Luxembourg LF 55
Malaysia M 2.50
Malta M 0.25
Mauritius M 2.00
Netherlands G 4.00
Norway NK 10
Oman QR 1.00
Pakistan PK 70
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Portugal E 200
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Russia US\$ 2.00
Saudi Arabia R 10
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Sweden SK 17
Switzerland SF 2.20
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An Oxford theologian takes on the scientists
Life and nothing but
G2 with European weather



Media
Paul Dacre's early years
G2 pages 7/9

Award-winning coverage
SportExtra
Richard Williams sees Damon Hill get to within a point of the title

Bishop branded a Judas for betraying Catholic church

Madeleine Bunting
Religious Affairs Editor
THE disgraced bishop of Argyll was compared to Judas by one of his former priests yesterday for betraying the trust of the Catholic church.

contrary to Church teaching, which would in effect bar him from the Catholic church. The sacraments are denied to those married to divorcees.

ment as compassion for Mr Wright gave way to fury at his duplicity and irresponsibility over his previous relationship with Ms Whibley.

some depression" at Mr Wright's latest decision. The News of the World's claim that a "modest, five-figure" sum is to be given to Mrs MacPhee's children and will not directly benefit Mr Wright has done nothing to dispel the fury of Catholics. Churchmen described the money as "tainted".

olic church in Scotland, revealed the anxiety of the hierarchy that the bishop might turn his back on the Church altogether: "What we are saying right now to Roddy is that you should very seriously consider your position. We hope and pray that he can remain within the church."

all that she has said." Neither of the Whibleys attended their parish church in Polegate, East Sussex, yesterday, where the priest gave a passionate denunciation of the former bishop.

revelations of a string of such relationships. Senior members of the Catholic hierarchy have suggested a committee should be set up to find out the extent of the problem, but last week the Vatican said the Church could not be expected to police its priesthood. Others have suggested dioceses should appoint independent counsellors - similar to those who handle cases of child sexual abuse - who would be the first port of call for priests or women seeking help.

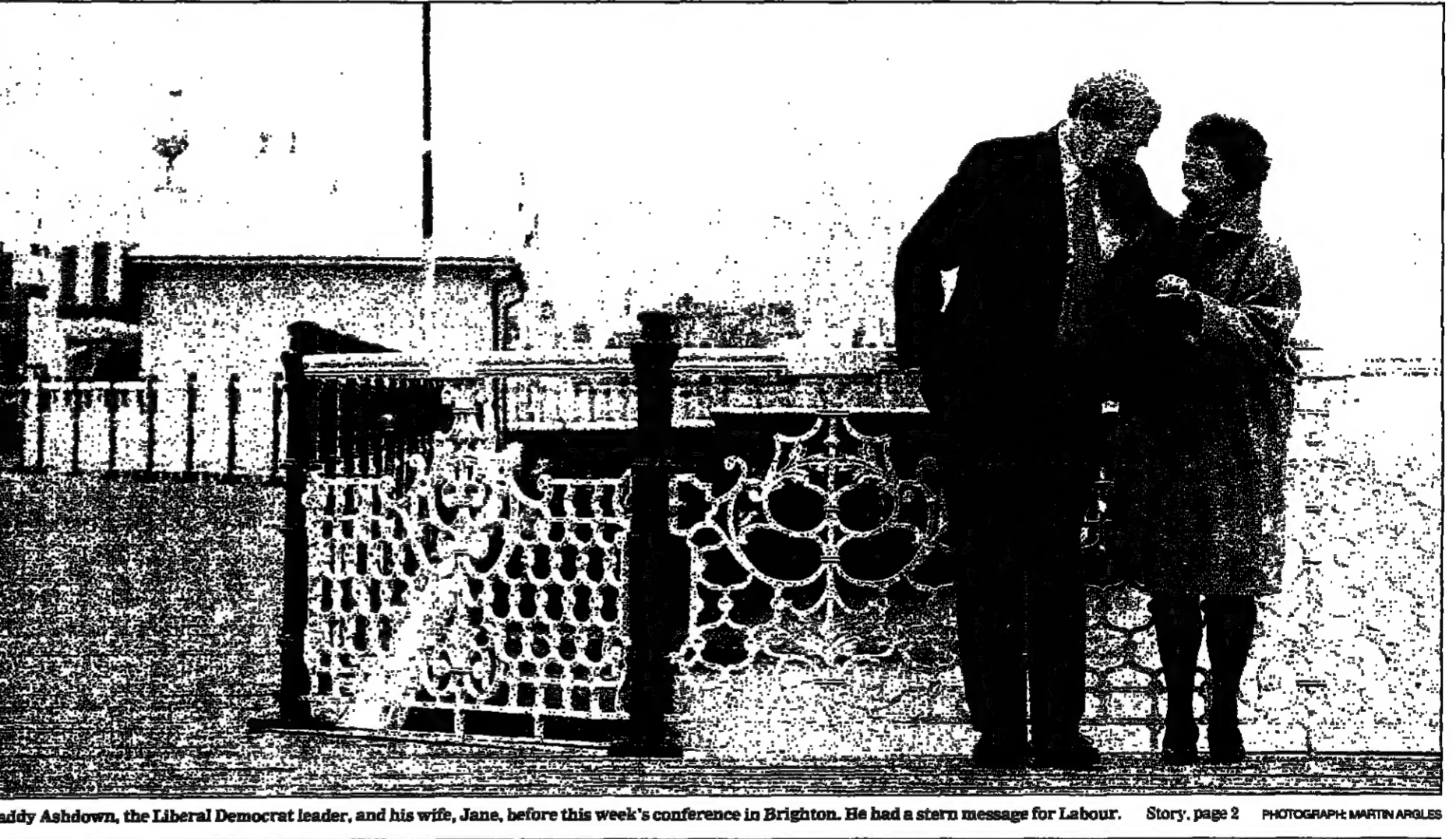


Clarke jumps on Euro train

John Palmer in Dublin, Larry Elliott and Ewan MacAskill
THE Government was embroiled in a fresh civil war over Europe last night after the weekend summit of finance ministers in Dublin launched the final push for the formation of a single currency in less than two-and-a-half years' time.

this will help countries to reduce budget deficits over the next two years. Asked if he envisaged France, Germany and a couple of other countries setting up EMU with Britain waiting on the sidelines, Mr Clarke replied: "No, I hope that doesn't happen. That would be the worst policy of all - of the British doing their traditional business of not being able to make their minds up and then joining late. That would be pathetic."

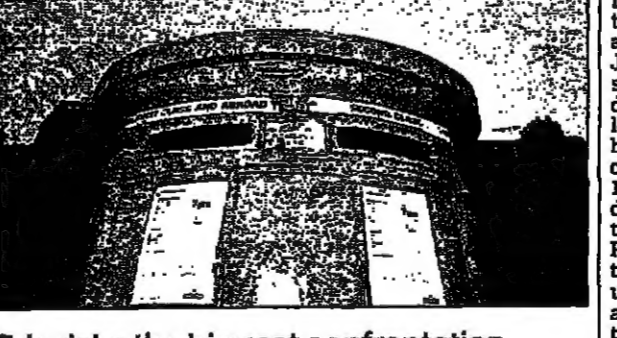
Some Euro-sceptics were last night calling for Mr Clarke to step down as Chancellor after he agreed with Jacques Santer, EU Commission president, that "the movement to a single currency in 1999 is now irreversible." John Redwood warned that the Chancellor should not lose touch with the grassroots of his party, while Sir George Gardiner said: "It would be unfortunate to lose Kenneth Clarke as Chancellor but if he insists on preventing the party serving the wishes and interests of the British people, then that would be a loss we could bear."



Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, and his wife, Jane, before this week's conference in Brighton. He had a stern message for Labour. Story, page 2 PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARPLES

Strikes called off after threat of massive damages at secret meeting
Post union faces 'loaded gun'

Seumas Milne
Labour Editor
THE Post Office union could face massive claims for damages as it emerged yesterday that the latest strikes were called off after Royal Mail threatened legal action over a balloting technicality.



'This risks the biggest confrontation over anti-union legislation for a decade. The issue could blow up at the Labour Party conference'

legal action came to a head, the Guardian has learned, at a private meeting between Mr Johnson and Brian Thompson, Royal Mail's personnel director, last Wednesday. The legal assault would only be halted if the 24-hour strikes called for 7pm last Friday and 10pm last night were abandoned, and a ballot held on the package deal offered by Royal Mail, and rejected by the union, last July. The executive compromised by calling a new ballot on further industrial action and Royal Mail dropped its injunction plans.

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City seeks to rise from Shambles

The IRA bomb demolished part of Manchester. Some residents feel planners should finish off the job and start again



David Ward

SHORTLY after 11.20am on a sun-filled Saturday in June, a man standing on a hill in Salford saw a wondrous shimmering and glittering against a clear blue sky in the east.

There were signs that something extraordinary had happened in Manchester that day, not least a loud bang and the cloud of dust and smoke. The watcher soon learned about the bomb (the one we always refer to as the largest on mainland Britain since the end of the last war) that had devastated the city centre. But what had caused all that twinkling?

Some time later it dawned on him that a billion fragments of glass had reflected the summer light after being blown into the air above the Arndale Centre by the IRA. Some of that glass lacerated

shoppers when it fell in Cross Street and St Ann's Square. But no one was killed. Manchester, signed with rubble and called in the glassiers.

The city is now the scaffolding capital of Europe. Some shops have posters telling customers they have moved into temporary premises after what are always described as the events of June 15.

Marks & Spencer has abandoned its premises, which caught the full impact of the explosion. Behind it, boards still cover the windows of the jail-like offices rising above Shambles Square. Otherwise, the square remains much as it was — a hideous concrete space approached through a dreary passage from St Mary's Gate.

The grand task force charged with overseeing the rebirth of Manchester has given five design teams £20,000 each to dream up ideas for the transformation of this squalid dump and the rest of the city centre. On November 1 one will be chosen.

This is the top-down approach. At the weekend environmental activists went bottom-up and, at the suggestion of Friends of the Earth, invited the people of the city to have their say. The Manchester Local Agenda 21 group, which has adopted the environmental aims agreed at the



Residents' suggestions are pinned to a model of the city

United Nations Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, erected its tent in Shambles Square, set out a crude polystyrene city centre model and offered shoppers little labels and cocktail sticks to push into the model.

An awful lot of "Demolish" labels were stuck into the flimsy yellow tower of the Arndale Centre, which trembled in the vicious gale for which Shambles Square is notorious. Other ideas for the Arndale, the most derided shopping space in Britain, included a centre for the terminally ill near where Top Man used to be, a city farm on the site of Marks & Spencer, a needle exchange point instead of W.H. Smith and an HIV information centre where Littlewoods is trading.

"Make it [Manchester] a more European type of city, e.g. cafes on the pavement," read one label. "Refurbish ugly Arndale or pull it down. Get the Tories out!" Someone else demanded that the structure should be demolished and re-erected in Liverpool.

But other LAZI consultations suggested that the flattening of the Arndale would not win universal applause. Amanda de-Fisher, who worked in an office in the squat, square tower until the bomb went off, thought it could be prettified with mirrors and other decorations. And Emily Robertson, aged 15, insisted: "The Arndale is safe and it's not cold or windy. And there are lots of shops selling affordable clothes."

Her mum Diana sighed: "She has grieved for the destruction of Top Shop." Mrs Robertson would like to see the Arndale opened out and integrated with the rest of the city on which it turns its back.

"This is a big city and it's not beautiful. But I'm staggered by the changes that have happened here over the last 20 years. Perhaps the bombers did us a favour. The way everyone has responded to the blast has been very Mancunian. People didn't grieve or mourn. They responded to the challenge."

But a woman who works nearby gazed disdainfully at the chewing gum-spattered pavement of the hated square. "The whole of Manchester needs a damn good clean. I wish the place was more like Leeds, with its open streets and Victorian arcades."

LAZI also gave out forms

and asked people to state their likes and dislikes about Manchester. Some mentioned vibrancy, cultural activity, "dramatic architecture", sense of tradition.

Others came up with ideas: less dog mess and pollution, fewer cars, more toilets, phones, cycle tracks, tram reconstruction "for people, not greedy developers". Some suggested a course in town planning for city councillors.

But what, ultimately, can task forces, green battlers and smart-planned designers do if, say, Marks and Sparks chooses to replace its ruin with an as-before boring commercial temple dedicated to St Michael, patron saint of sensible trousers? Perhaps we should pray for answers to St Denis, patron saint of the bombed-out theological bookshop which has now found a temporary home in the cathedral's chapter house.

A string group from the Royal Northern College of Music cheered every yone up by playing Ravel's Bolero in that dreary passage leading to Shambles Square. "You can't play here — this is private property," warned a nervous security guard.

What can St Michael, St Denis and all the design teams in the world do about a problem like that?

Ivory maestro in the making

Review

Andrew Clements

Leeds Piano Competition Leeds Town Hall, BBC2/Radio 3

IT IS MORE than 20 years since the Leeds Piano Competition awarded a winner to go on to establish himself in the very highest rank of international performers. That was the Russian Dmitri Alexeev, who walked away with the first prize in 1976.

Since then, the winners have tended to be decent rather than outstanding. But this year's winner — announced on Saturday night after the final round of concerts spread across two evenings — holds the promise of making the transition from worthy winner to outstanding one.

The success of Ilya Itin, aged 29, a Russian resident in New York, was the arguably uncontroversial, after a final in which the standard of performance was very high.

Five of the six finalists, however, chose works by Rachmaninov, treating the audience to no less than three performances of the Paganini Rhapsody and two of the Second Concerto.

There is no doubt that Itin was the outstanding performer, with a wonderful range of colour, a truly imaginative way with tone and phrasing, and a supreme technical command.

He was also awarded the contemporary music prize for his playing of Messiaen in the semi-final, displaying a remarkable range of intelligence. He will make his London debut next month at the Queen Elizabeth Hall.

The jury — a cosmopolitan lot, though short of a pianist of the highest international stature — takes into account performances in earlier rounds. That presumably coloured their choice for the second prize, for the Italian Roberto Cominati's efficient but unremarkable performance of Rachmaninov's Second Concerto. The Prokofiev Third Concerto from the Yugoslav Aleksandar Madzar was by contrast dashing, dynamic and oozing with personality.

All the performers received vivid support from Simon Ratle and the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. They had led off the finals on Friday with an electrifying, effervescent account of the Paganini Rhapsody with the Chinese Sa Chen, aged 17.

If some of her ideas were a bit approximate, there was no doubting her talent. Her plucking — fourth — was a recognition of potential rather than present stature. The pianists placed fifth and sixth, the Armenian Armen Babakhanian and the Russian Ekaterina Apakidzeva, are older, more finished artists. Itin was a class above them all.

Liberal Democrats at Brighton

Ashdown rules out role as Blair

Michael White Political Editor

PADDY Ashdown today warns Tony Blair not to take the Liberal Democrats for granted and treat them as a mascot if Labour forms a government.

On the eve of his 1996 party conference in Brighton, the Liberal Democrat leader was walking a tightrope. He is torn between key allies who expect close co-operation — and possibly ministerial jobs — if Mr Blair wins power, and grassroots activists and MPs who fear a realignment which may swamp them up.

In an interview with the Guardian Mr Ashdown keeps all his options open and stresses his goal is multi-party politics. But he admits: "What Tony Blair would like to do, I'm sure, is throw a great maw around the entire left and centre-left of politics and say 'this is all mine and I have little client states'."

Evidently keen to acknowledge grassroots fears, he adds: "People in the Liberal Party have got to get out of thinking that the Liberal Democrats are some small shed in the garden at Walworth Road [Labour's headquarters]. We are sovereign parties that offer different choices to the electorate."

He rules out being the eternal bridesmaid, alternating in coalition with the bigger parties like the German Free Democratic Party (FDP).

"I want my party to become the largest party in this country. I do not want the cosy position of being the FDP, everybody's mascot," he asserts, at a time when Lib Dems are stuck at around 14-16 per cent in the polls.

Mr Ashdown's tactical move away from Labour is diametrically opposite to a friendly overture Mr Blair made to the Lib Dems before their Glasgow conference a year ago. Since then the Lib Dem leader has remained impressed by his Labour counterpart's reformist drive but wary of his party and his policy caution.

Mr Ashdown believes his party enters the pre-election period in good shape. But throughout yesterday he and senior lieutenants like Alan Beith and Mienzes Campbell engaged in shadow-boxing with TV and radio interviewers determined to flesh out the shape of a possible post-election deal.

Forced to defend the abandonment of equidistance between their bigger rivals, Mr Campbell, MP for Fife NE,

said in a speech last night: "After 18 years this country desperately needs a change of government. The tired self-serving days of Conservative government need to be brought to an end."

That does not necessarily justify coming to an arrangement with Labour if Mr Blair wins power, party strategists say. It all depends on how the votes fall. Mr Ashdown told the Guardian: "Change is coming. In that process the more Liberal Democrat MPs there are, the more secure that change will be — the more it will be the change you want, not the change you don't want."

But his willingness to consider close co-operation with a Blair cabinet was undermined by the comparison he offered: the relationship between Margaret Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev. "I will be offering a different choice, so when talk about working together my mind goes back to Mrs Thatcher saying 'I can do business with this man'. No one ever claimed she was the same as this man."

With dissident Lib Dem MPs Liz Lynne and Malcolm Bruce expressing fears that "coysing up to Labour" could cost them their Commons seats, Mr Ashdown's allies repeatedly acknowledged common ground with Labour over Europe, education and the NHS.

They also share a commitment to constitutional reform, but this week's conference is certain to echo the public spending crisis that would require higher taxes or spending cuts; and a decision — within weeks of a 1997 election — on whether or not to join a single European currency. He called the evasions "unvarnished lying".

There were three questions to be asked about New Labour: "How deep does the Blair revolution go, how divided are they? How rootless are they — having abandoned socialism, what do they stand for? Blair has been very courageous, but will Labour be as courageous later on?"

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"People in the Labour Party have got to get out of thinking that the Liberal Democrats are some small shed in the garden at Walworth Road [Labour's HQ]. We are sovereign parties that offer different choices to the electorate."

Paddy Ashdown, speaking yesterday

NEWS WORLD

WORLD EXCLUSIVE RUNAWAY BISHOP CONFESSES ALL TO NEWS WORLD

Newspaper confession praises triumph of love over 'cold logic' though affair stays chaste after week in love nest

Friend Clouston

AS THE Catholic church's wrath grows by the hour, Roderick Wright yesterday portrayed his controversial liaison with divorcee Kathleen MacPhee in terms dear to Hollywood producers: a triumph of love over textured consciences and "cold logic".

Officially, however, the affair is still chaste. The scandal-enveloped couple claimed in yesterday's News of the World that "something they recognised as love" had developed without an exchange of kisses on the lips. Despite spending a week in their Lake District love nest, they had not made love, nor even shared a bed.

Both Mr Wright and Mrs MacPhee — who met 25 years ago — criticised the Church authorities for holding back his private admission last Sunday that he had fathered a son 15 years earlier. Cardinal Winning, head of the Roman Catholic church in Scotland, has explained that the decision was made to protect the boy's identity.

Mr Wright concedes that the boy's existence should have prevented him from becoming a bishop and claims that three times before his ordination he came close to refusing to go through with it. "For many a day I have rued that I was appointed," he says.

The article, illustrated by a photograph of Mrs MacPhee in a scarlet mohair cardigan, alleges that their relationship only developed after Mrs MacPhee's divorce. On the next page, a friend of Mr MacPhee recalls him blaming "that bloody man" for the marriage break-up.

Mr Wright does not reveal whether his new love knew before Thursday evening about the existence of Ms Whibley and son — nor her reaction if she did not.



Parishioners at St Columba's cathedral found revelations in the News of the World, top left, hard to swallow

Bishop hopes to marry

The E word

EXCOMMUNICATION — the Catholic church's ultimate sanction — is considered in matters of faith rather than discipline. Despite the scandal he has brought to the church, Roderick Wright is unlikely to receive this punishment, writes Stuart Miller.

Under the Code of Canon Law, a cleric who enters into "concubinage" with a woman and persists with it would be suspended, then barred from the clerical state. Even then, he would remain a member of the church and a cleric but could not practise.

A similar process would be invoked for such offences as "striking the Roman Pontiff" or "desecrating a church".

In Britain, excommunication has been rare since the Middle Ages. The last notable case was that of Elizabeth I, who established the Church of England after her father, Henry VIII, broke of relations with Rome.

In a phrase which may send a chill down the spine of Cardinal Winning, who three years ago accepted his bishop's claims of innocence, he promises: "There are no more mistresses, just these two."

The former bishop, pictured in a white T-shirt, reveals that he hopes to marry Mrs MacPhee, acknowledging that the Catholic church would never recognise such a union.

In an attempt to placate Catholic outrage, Mr Wright alleges that the friendship developed over counselling he provided when Mrs MacPhee was suffering from cancer and the strains of her ruptured marriage. Both had sought help in prayer and in

month-long periods of quarantine from the other. He tried to put Mrs MacPhee out of his mind, but she was "always there".

Mr Wright says he wants to "express sorrow" for the "hurt and damage" the couple's actions have caused. He also apologises for the "neglect and hurt" experienced by his son, Kevin Whibley, and wishes him happiness.

But, he points out, his affair with Ms Whibley was 16 years ago, and was "totally different" to his current relationship.

Mrs MacPhee also says sorry "so sincerely and deeply" to her three children, Stephen, Donald and Julianne.

She notes wryly that "it would have been a lot easier" if the former bishop had been a plumber or a dustman.

Yesterday the couple left the cottage in Kendal, Cumbria, for an unknown destination. Neighbours said they had seemed a happy couple who had laughed and joked together.

In Oban, Mr Wright's home town, worshippers leaving Sunday mass in the cathedral of St Columba were not inclined to extend much Christian charity to their former leader.

"I think people have been let down and it will take a long time to get back to normal," complained 71-year-old Donald Ardy.

Frances Shand Kydd, the Princess of Wales's mother, said stiffly: "I am here today to support the Catholic church and all the priests, especially those in Argyll and the Isles."

Teresa Russell, 48, said: "You feel saddened for him because he obviously was a man years ago with a very strong faith. He has lived with a great torment for a long, long time and he has to continue to live with it. But we will recover. That is the message today."

You can't always look the other way

neil gaiman

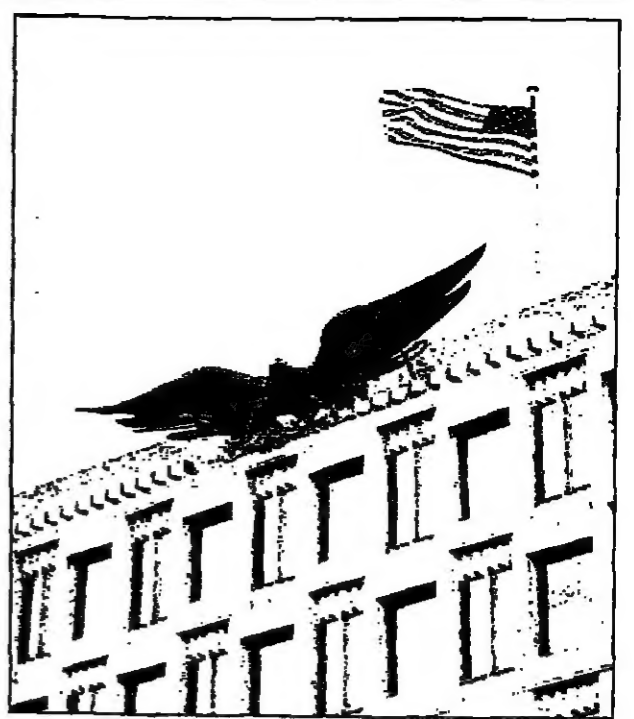
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Mary Fogarty was asked whether she was a virgin and her ear was licked suggestively by the man assigned to train her



The US embassy... staff failed to investigate properly

"I was shocked and very embarrassed because nobody had ever treated me like that before. I was in a small office with him and he was training me. I didn't want any of this, all I wanted was somebody to sort this out."

Mary Fogarty, sacked after bringing a sexual harassment case

Embassy sex row embarrasses US

Clinton challenged on harassment

Claire Dyer
Legal Correspondent

A LEGAL action launched by a woman sacked from a CIA job at the US embassy in London threatens to cause severe embarrassment to the US State Department, which prides itself on its anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies.

Mary Fogarty, aged 36, an Irish citizen, has started an action alleging victimisation, after winning a sexual harassment case against the US government at an industrial tribunal. Ms Fogarty has been served on President Bill Clinton, who has faced sexual harassment allegations himself.

for seven other posts at the embassy, despite US government service dating back to 1984. She was sacked as administrative assistant with the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a subsidiary of the CIA, while the man found to have harassed her is still on the staff. The London (North) tribunal's judgment, which was unpublished, strongly criticises the way the case was handled. It concludes that the US government, acting through the FBIS, knew what was going on but failed to investigate properly. The resulting stress, for which Ms Fogarty received medical treatment, affected her performance and caused

her to be dismissed, the tribunal held. She was awarded £3,000 for injury to feelings. Compensation for the loss of her job, worth £17,000 a year with benefits, is to be decided. The tribunal accepted Ms Fogarty's evidence that senior administrative assistant Martin Thomas, aged 45, a father of three, made suggestive remarks to her, culminating in an incident in November or December 1993, soon after she started work, when he licked her ear and asked: "What's pink and likes oral sex?" On other occasions, she claimed he asked her about being an Irish Catholic and whether she was a virgin; told her he liked "big girls" while

staring at her chest; deliberately stood very close to her; and insisted on telling her about his sex life and those of colleagues. Ms Fogarty told the tribunal that Mr Thomas, a British employee who was assigned to train her, treated her coldly and avoided her after she complained to her American boss, James Thayer, in January 1994. Mr Thayer said in a statement to the tribunal that he had only learned of the allegations a year later, but the tribunal accepted Ms Fogarty's version. Ms Fogarty claimed Mr Thomas never trained her properly, was often out of the office, and treated her as a

"gofer." Despite her satisfactory ratings on earlier performance reviews, she said Robert Thompson, the American who took over from Mr Thayer in August 1994, tried to persuade her to leave. He wrote negative performance assessments and in February 1995 recommended her employment be terminated, saying she was unable to work "agreeably" with Mr Thomas. Three weeks later, she claimed Mr Thompson marched her out of the embassy. She was given another embassy job on a one-year contract at £14,000, but has not worked since the end of June. The tribunal criticised an FBIS in-house investigation into the harassment alleg-

tions, set up more than a year after Ms Fogarty first complained to Mr Thayer, and only after she went to the acting ambassador, Tim Deal. Catherine Danner, the FBIS employee who carried out the investigation, concluded that Ms Fogarty made her allegations only when her job was threatened, despite interviews with four people backing up her story that she had complained a year earlier. The report, which described a statement by another woman employee that Mr Thomas had done the same thing to her as "troublesome if true", concluded that he should not be disciplined but warned "to be more circumspect in his behaviour."

Ms Fogarty, who brought the case with the help of North Lambeth Law Centre, said yesterday that when her ear had been licked she had felt "shocked and very embarrassed because nobody had ever treated me like that before. I was in a small office with him and he was training me. It was terrible going to court. I didn't want any of this, all I wanted was somebody to sort this out. I feel like I'm being treated like a second class citizen. If I was an American woman I feel I'd have been treated differently." An embassy spokesman said the US government would defend the victimisation claim.

Britain 'squeezing Third World debtors' Yeltsin surgeon seeks delay

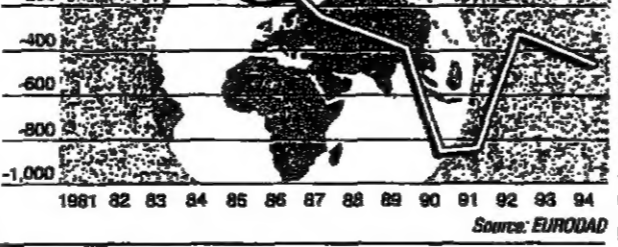
Repayment levels and export 'strings' outweigh new loans

Richard Thomas
Economics Correspondent

B RITAIN is squeezing cash out of the world's poorest countries by demanding levels of debt repayment which far outweigh new loans or aid, according to figures to be published this week. As representatives of the world's richest creditor nations meet in Paris today to discuss initiatives intended to reduce the debt burden on the developing world, aid agencies say the first comprehensive analysis of lender countries undermines the British government's claim to be at the forefront of the campaign to help the world's poor. A spokesperson for Christian Aid said last night: "It is quite simply morally wrong that one of the world's richest countries should be getting more money out of the world's poorest than it puts

Blood from a stone

What poorer countries pay back to the UK. Net transfer on debt, US\$bn.



in. The very last thing these countries need is to be shelling out like this. The European Network on Debt and Development (Eurodad) — a Brussels-based umbrella group including Christian Aid, Cafod and Oxfam — has undertaken the first country-by-country survey of the main creditor nations, due to be published on Friday. A copy of the research, obtained by the Guardian, shows Britain has been a net recipient of cash from the Third World since 1981. The paper shows that, of the nations in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), only the US has a longer record of taking more money from the developing world than it gives out. The figures will add to pressure on the OECD member states to relax repayment schedules. The World Bank is trying to squeeze a commitment to more generous debt relief, before the bank's

possibility of more generous relief on a case by case basis. An announcement on the HIPC initiative involving a trust fund to pay off debts is expected in Washington next week. The World Bank is lobbying the OECD nations for a more concrete commitment on cuts in bilateral debt. The bank has pledged \$2 billion to the HIPC initiative. But officials point out that the eligibility criteria stipulate that only debt accumulated before any loan rescheduling is eligible for relief. This would rule out many of the world's poorest nations from significant assistance. An internal World Bank paper issued this month estimates that even with an 80 per cent cut-off, the eligibility rules mean that in practice only 17 per cent of bilateral debt could be written off. Christian Aid said that because many of the loans to poor countries were conditional on the purchase of British goods, Britain gained twice over. "We benefit from the increased exports, and then again from the interest on the loans given to buy these exports."

David Hearst in Moscow

P R E S I D E N T Boris Yeltsin may have to wait for up to two months before it is safe to operate on his heart, Professor Renat Akhurchin, the Russian surgeon chosen to lead the operation, said last night. The surgeon's comments are bound to spark furious political intrigue, confirming as they do that Russia has a lame duck president who will have to hand over power at some point to the constitutional acting president, his prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. A team of doctors is due to meet on Wednesday or Thursday to assess whether an operation would impose and did not rule out cancelling it altogether. "It is possible to refuse to do the operation, although you would have to lay down conditions to the patient which he himself has said he would not tolerate. You would have to limit his physical activity, and as far as I know Boris Nikolayevich, he would not tolerate that."

Yeltsin surgeon seeks delay

half and two months" before Mr Yeltsin's heart is strong enough for the bypass operation. "This is a serious operation for the president. To do the operation earlier would increase the risk," Prof Akhurchin said. He did not back away from his previous statements to Western news agencies that Mr Yeltsin had suffered recent damage, indicating a heart attack during the final stages of his election campaign. He said Mr Yeltsin's heart had to undergo intensive therapeutic treatment to assess the extent of the damage. He expressed doubt repeatedly about the strains that the operation would impose and did not rule out cancelling it altogether. "It is possible to refuse to do the operation, although you would have to lay down conditions to the patient which he himself has said he would not tolerate. You would have to limit his physical activity, and as far as I know Boris Nikolayevich, he would not tolerate that."

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Review

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January 1996
September 1996

4 BRITAIN



As London Fashion Week kicks off today, **Susannah Frankel** celebrates a new wave of gifted home-grown designers, while **Sarah Ryle** (below right) checks out the shops side of the business as fashion gurus hail the capital's 'incredible energy' and prestige clothes outlets open by the street-full



As preparations for London Fashion Week finish (above), first showings by such as Tommy Hilfinger (top left) point to its success

Big rise in untrained university teachers

John Carvel and Lee Elliot Major

UNDERGRADUATES starting their first term at university over the next two weeks are increasingly likely to be taught by untrained postgraduate students earning as little as £3.75 an hour from cash-starved academic departments. Evidence to be published shortly by the Association of University Teachers shows college administrators are coping with the Government's decision to squeeze their budgets by enlisting PhD students, who can no longer rely on grants to fund their research.

More than 70 per cent of postgraduates giving tutorials, laboratory classes and lectures said their suitability as teachers had never been formally assessed, according to a survey which the union carried out with the National Union of Students (NUS) and National Postgraduate Committee. Nearly 60 per cent were not trained in teaching methods and half of those who received instruction said the training was poor or below par. "There is widespread use of postgraduates as cheap teaching labour in universities," said Ewan Gillon, general secretary of the National Postgraduate Committee. "They can get a notional rate of £15 an hour for tutorials or lectures, but in practice this falls to £3.75 after time spent on preparation and marking is taken into account. Postgraduates often made extremely good teachers. They were well-informed, enthusiastic and could empathise with students far better than many older academics. "But it is unacceptable that postgraduates are expected to teach without training support and proper remuneration for their work," Mr Gillon added.

Jobs had been shed by institutions under pressure from spending cuts announced last year. However, the committee had not yet investigated how far postgraduates were being drafted in to fill the gap. "The union's survey is valuable in highlighting the degree to which undergraduates are relying on very young staff to carry the burden of day-to-day teaching. We have not yet addressed the problem of how far we are meeting the training needs of these postgraduate student/teachers who are not officially members of staff," a spokesman said.

The survey was based on 223 postgraduates teaching on 450 first-degree courses. "Effective rates of pay are extremely low for the level of work involved, falling below the likely level of a minimum wage in some cases," says a late draft of the report. "It is far from unusual to find

70 per cent said their suitability as teachers had not been assessed

second year postgraduates teaching on final year undergraduate or masters courses having completed only two or three days training and that of questionable quality. "Although we have no concrete evidence that the teaching of postgraduate students is of inadequate quality, the circumstances as described all militate against the possibility of good quality work." The NUS said it was against the teaching of final year degree courses by postgraduate students. The Association of University Teachers said first year undergraduate courses in many universities were taught exclusively by research students. It wants them to have clear conditions of employment, including prescribed teaching duties and salaries.

London catwalks set to cash in on the hype

IT'S the "most happening city on earth" according to the style gurus. Not only is London producing unparalleled talent, but it has become the hottest venue for the autumn catwalk season which starts this week. "We've been building up London Fashion Week over the past few seasons," said Simon Ward, administrator for the British Fashion Council, which is behind the event. "And it is now very exciting. London has always been a centre for ideas, but we have a particularly rich crop of designers at the moment." The excitement is not confined to the London shows. British designer John Galiano is now the main man at Givenchy — and the "Queen of Funk" and grand-dame of British fashion, Vivienne Westwood, is a hot favourite to take over at Christian Dior. The "real life" photography of Juergen Teller, David Simms, Corinne Day and Craig McDean is also some of the most sought after in the world; English aristocrat Stella Tennant is the new face of Chanel; and Croydon-born Kate Moss is still world fashion's favourite face. Ward said that in the 1980s our young designers were too

inexperienced and underfunded to keep up with the hype they generated, but now they are equipped to deal with it. "The new wave of designers have learned from history. They realise the business side is of prime importance."

According to one insider, though, we should be optimistic. "The talent here is unparalleled, but that doesn't equal financial success"

tic — but aware of potential pitfalls. "Our designers make for great pictures in magazines, but that won't bring money into the industry. Unless our young designers are professional and their clothes sell to the public rather than just making the window displays, it won't work." Award-winning design duo Pearce Pionda agreed. "Although the talent here is unparalleled, generating a great deal of interest in Britain and worldwide, it does not necessarily mean financial success. "Nowhere near the amount of sales are achieved as the

hype suggests. Britain is still years behind other fashion capitals in this respect."

For now though, the word is all good. Sponsorship from companies has never been so healthy, and top international buyers are taking the trouble to attend in person rather than just send assistants as they normally do.

Even the standard of models is higher than usual. Where previously the more established names forsook London for the glamour of the Milan shows which start the week after, this year they are working in London too.

Above all, the fact that — for the first time — there will be an American presence at the shows is a gauge of potential commercial as well as creative success.

Tommy Hilfinger, designer of heavily-logged sports and casual wear — as worn by everyone from Bill Clinton to Snoop Doggy Dogg — is showing his womenswear here for the first time. Donna Karan, America's biggest-selling female designer, is also holding a shop-opening and show in her New Bond Street store to coincide with the event.

Prima Donna hits town G2, page 4



Chic store revival hits Bond Street

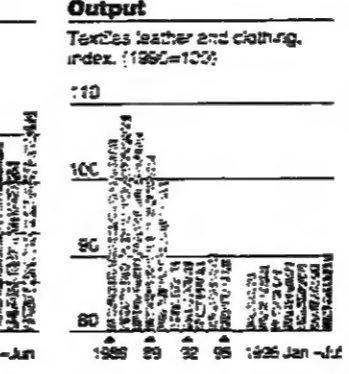
IF THE revival of Bond Street is anything to go by, designer fashion is making a comeback in London. As fast as one builder's hoarding comes down to reveal the latest chic store, another hardboard shroud goes up elsewhere on the street.

Suddenly the traditional fashion houses such as Christian Dior and Hermes, which sat out the recession, are having to vie for attention with relative newcomers. Donna Karan opened the doors to its first European store in New Bond Street last week (complementing its partner, the DKNY store, another recent arrival), and Calvin Klein is almost ready to open his shop next door to Fauxwick. There is talk of another American newcomer, Tommy Hilfinger, making its British debut on Bond Street, bringing clothes worn in the United States by everybody from homeboys to President Bill Clinton.

Christian Dior is planning a second outlet, and Polo Ralph Lauren has announced a massive flagship store which will be its biggest in Europe. Mr Lauren, speaking from New York, has noted the business potential of London. "There's an incredible energy right now, which makes it such a natural place to build on our existing retail presence by creating our largest international store."

Donna Karan was equally gushing. "Every time I come to London I feel like I've arrived at the front door of Europe." Appearances, however, can be deceptive. In the Bond Street enclave, most

UK fashion industry



Schools avoid moral crusade

THE Government's advisers for developing a curriculum have beaten off attempts by Christian fundamentalists to get the virtues of lifelong marriage between heterosexual couples taught in every classroom. A new moral code to guide teachers in the values they are expected to inculcate in the young will emphasise the importance of family life, but will avoid any prescription about the type of relationship between parents which society deems most appropriate. The draft code is due to be agreed by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority tomorrow, and will be sent for wide consultation before being circulated to the schools.

Nicholas Tate, the authority's chief executive, set up a 150-strong forum in January to draw up guidelines for schools where staff were no longer certain about the moral values they were supposed to instil. The National Forum for Values in Education and the Community included teachers, parents, police, journalists and specialists in social development and religion. Officials said five of the 150 were representatives from

John Carvel Education Editor

Christian groups who wanted children to get clear guidance that the proper family was headed by two heterosexuals living in lifelong partnership, with no sex before marriage and no infidelities during. They were overruled by the other members, who said it was quite possible to contemplate marriages falling short of that ideal and wrong to stigmatise children who came from other sorts of family. The guidelines will say that the family is the natural context for developing a loving and growing relationship with a deep and abiding sense of values, but they will not say what the family should consist of, accepting that there can be many forms of good parenting. "Most schools have some form of values statement, but they do not necessarily go into this kind of detail. This is the first time anyone has tried to say there is general social support for a particular moral view," a spokesman for the authority said. The authority was trying to produce "an umbrella statement" within which schools could fit their own teaching of moral values with a greater degree of confidence. There would be no imposition of a national moral curriculum. The guidelines will be tested on the public through a Mori opinion poll.

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Blair backs Commons ban on Adams press conference

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

ABLOCK on a visit by the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, to the House of Commons this week has been welcomed by the Labour leader, Tony Blair. Mr Adams had been due to hold a press conference on Thursday to mark the launch of his autobiography. The Labour MP for Islington North, Jeremy Corbyn, had booked the room. Although press conferences by senior members of Sinn Féin have been held at the Commons, the Serjeant at Arms, Peter Jennings, who is responsible for administra-

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Dublin EU finance ministers' meeting

Euro and economic reality collide

Political commitment to a single currency is the easy part. Ian Traynor and Larry Elliott report on the practical difficulties

WERNER Hoyer, Germany's key European Union official, was adamant yesterday that the most important decisions on the proposed single currency have been taken following the Dublin session of EU finance ministers which grappled with the minutiae of future common fiscal policy.

But for most of those countries eager to sign up to the monetary union, the political commitment is merely the easy part of a three-stage process. From now on, they have to get their economies into shape and win over their voters.

Despite the upbeat mood in Dublin, Europe's sluggish economic performance during the 1990s has made hitting the Maastricht criteria for qualification for a single currency much more difficult to achieve.

These stipulate that countries have to meet targets for inflation, interest rates, exchange rates, government deficits and public debt. In 1991, when the treaty was signed, seven countries met

at least four out of five conditions, and three other putative members — Finland, Sweden and Austria — would have qualified as well.

By 1995, only five countries — Germany, Luxembourg, France, Ireland and Denmark — were on course to fulfil four of the five conditions. What's more, the outlook for 1996 is for even fewer countries to make the grade.

The problem has not been inflation, which has remained subdued, but the impact of slow growth on budget deficits and, as interest payments mount up, on government debt. Increasingly frantic attempts have been made to find ways of plugging the gaps.

France has tried a mixture of budget austerity, raising the pension fund for France Telecom, and some highly optimistic forecasts of growth to ensure that it will be able to sign up when decision day comes in early 1998.

Belgium explains away the fact that its government debt is more than double the stipulated level by arguing that it has high domestic savings, so little of its debt has to be ex-

ternally financed. Umberto Bossi's plan to divide Italy in two is partly driven by the notion that the richer, northern half would qualify for monetary union if it was unencumbered by the poor south.

It is these sort of manoeuvres — and the hope that it will be deemed good enough if countries are simply moving in the right direction — that fuel the belief in Brussels that at least eight countries will be ready by 1999.

But it is not quite seen like that in Germany, where the debate in the months ahead will centre on the discrepancies between politics and economics, between Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government in Bonn and Hans Tietmeyer's Bundesbank in Frankfurt.

The political push to launch EMU willy-nilly on schedule in 1999 has gathered an unstoppable momentum, but economic reality keeps getting in the way.

While wannabe EMU members pay lip-service to the merits of the German proposal, the stability pact details are being diluted.

It now looks as though there will be no "automaticity" in levelling the fines, that the European Commission and national governments will have a say.

In other words, the decision to fine fiscal delinquents will be as much political as economic.



European jigsaw... can Bundesbank caution, political will, and worker distrust be reconciled? PHOTOGRAPH BY COLLETT

Tory civil war escalates as Clarke says it would be folly not to join single currency

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

THE battle lines in the Tory civil war hardened yesterday after the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, gave his warmest endorsement yet to the idea of a European single currency.

Mr Clarke said that if it is

in Britain's national interest, it will be among the first wave of countries to join the single currency. It would be folly to be on the sidelines.

His comments pushed Conservative Euro-sceptics over the brink, with some publicly calling for his resignation. They said he was no longer even pretending

to keep options open, the agreed government compromise, but was campaigning for a single currency.

He has criticised any lingering Conservative Central Office hopes of the issue being kept low key during next month's party conference. Both sides are lining up meetings to put the case for and against.

Mr Clarke, apparently emboldened by the enthusiasm of the other finance ministers and tired of sniping by Euro-sceptics, said a single currency was now very likely. He predicted between six and eight countries would sign up in a first wave around the turn of the century.

The Chancellor unequivocally backed the decision by Sir Edward Heath, Lord Howe, Douglas Hurd and other "grandees" to hit back in the face of goading from Euro-sceptics.

"It's entirely a matter for them whether they speak out, but I can understand their feelings because every time I go near a European meeting... every-

thing I do is accompanied by quotations from the usual rent-a-quote Euro-sceptic MPs saying we should change our policy."

The Labour Party watched with glee from the sidelines. The shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, said: "The Tories are at war again over Europe. This will not go away for them.

They are irrevocably split and this is damaging Britain's interests in Europe."

But Labour too has problems with the single currency. On Thursday, a dozen Labour MPs set out to put a pamphlet in favour of a single currency in response to an anti-European campaign by some Labour MPs.

Harman seeks to blunt Castle's pension plea

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

THE Labour leadership will try to blunt Barbara Castle's campaign for a across-the-board 28 increase for pensioners by writing a warning letter to unions.

The issue is developing as the main one around which old Labour and New Labour will divide at the party conference in Blackpool next week. In a letter to the leaders of the main unions, the shadow social services secretary, Harriet Harman, will claim that Baroness Castle's proposal could mean that 10 million people paying into occupational pension schemes would each have to pay an extra £500 a year because of lost rebates.

She will argue that most members of the big unions are in occupational schemes

and the leaders, by voting at conference for the Castle plan, could be making their members £550 poorer. Lady Castle is at the head of a campaign to restore the link between average earnings and the state pension, and is winning union support.

Ms Harman will soften her letter by saying the party had to make the poorest pensioners the priority, highlighting the 700,000 who fall below the poverty line. She will add that another reason for opposing the Castle plan is that the Labour leadership will not make promises it cannot keep.

Ms Harman said on GMTV's Sunday programme yesterday: "I think what's happened over the years is that the gap between pensioners who are reasonably okay and those who are absolutely at the bottom has widened.

"The earnings gap between the richest and the poorest in

work is now feeding through into retirement." Occupational pensions meant that some pensioners nowadays were better off, she said.

"I don't think a flat rate increase of 28 for every pensioner couple, which would go to Margaret and Denis Thatcher, is the right way of doing things. We need to prioritise those who have already been means-tested and those who actually fall through the net."

Jack Jones, National Pensioners' Convention leader, who supports Lady Castle and who will be at the Labour conference, opposed Ms Harman's approach, saying means testing was costly.

"The administration of that is something like 10p in the pound, 10 per cent as opposed to 1 per cent for the national pension." He wanted to fund the increase by taxing the very rich.

Lib Dems target women

Michael White, Political Editor

THE Liberal Democrats last night signalled their determination to maximise their votes among women when they unveiled a package of female-friendly policies.

As party activists gathered in Brighton for their annual assembly, Emma Nicholson, the backbench MP who defected from the Conservatives last Christmas, accused the Tories of dishonesty and Labour of a lack of courage, then told the pre-conference rally: "It was to the Liberal Democrats that I came. They

Conference guide

From policy-making forum to stage-managed pantomime; but which is which?

	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dems
When	Oct 8-11	Sept 29 - Oct 4	Sept 22-28
Where	Bournemouth	Blackpool	Brighton
Agenda	Pre-election campaigning from day one through to Major's big speech on the Friday.	Desperate to use conference as launchpad for general election campaign.	To show they are different from Tories and (especially) Labour.
Potential pitfalls	Portico, Redwood and others have own agendas, jockeying for future leadership contest. Europa row will provide jobs of Tory civil war staples.	Conference ignores warnings and inlets defeats on leadership on pensions, Trident, child benefit and workers' rights.	Journalists ignoring agenda and asking about post-election packs with Labour. Lack of media interest.
Gimmicks	Fourteen-year-old girl set to become youngest ever speaker.	Surprise personalities to come forward to announce support.	John Cleese unveils poster and Alan Price sings specially commissioned song.

On Thursday, Baroness Williams, darling of the centre-left in her Labour days as Shirley Williams, is to give the conference's final rallying cry. But the policy statement Fair Deal for Women which Mr Ashdown launched in Brighton last night with Diana Maddock and Liz Lynne, MPs for Christchurch and Rochdale respectively, is conspicuous for not containing policies specifically intended to woo women.

"They are not just for women, they are not an add-on, they are for all the family," Mrs Maddock said.

As such they stress good health and education services — Lib Dems want two years' pre-school education for all — and stronger rights in the workplace, which would disproportionately benefit women who are low paid, or part-time.

The Lib Dems also want maternity leave on the equivalent of full pay for 18 weeks. Mr Ashdown said: "Over the last eight years women have played a more and more central role in the party." Officials say that as many as one third of their 5,000 councillors are women.

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6 WORLD NEWS

Bhutto dynasty mourns again

Ibrahim Khan in Larkana

MEMBERS of the divided Bhutto political dynasty came together at the weekend at the family's ancestral home in Larkana to pay their respects to Murtaza, the Pakistani prime minister's brother, who was killed in a gun battle with police officers on Friday night.



Pakistan's prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, and members of her government offer prayers in Larkana for her estranged brother Murtaza, who was killed in a gun battle with police in Karachi on Friday night (below)

police confirmed only six arrests. Murtaza was estranged from his older sister Benazir for much of his turbulent life. She inherited the leadership of the PPP from her father, the former prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was hanged in 1979.

after having been poisoned. The PPP-Shaheed Zardari faction accused Zardari, Benazir's husband, of engineering Murtaza's death. A statement issued yesterday by Zafar Arif, a member of its central committee, said Zardari had held secret talks with "criminal elements" in the security forces last week.

The murder of Murtaza Bhutto is the direct result of these conspiracies," it said. No comment was immediately forthcoming from Zardari, who is Pakistan's investment minister.

The police say Murtaza's guards fired first on Friday night, but opposition politicians dispute their account. Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the main opposition Pakistan Muslim League, has accused the government of "state terrorism" against its political opponents. — Reuter.

Workers rush to quit Gulf

Kathy Evans, and Reebert in Bombay

A HUGE exodus of Asian labourers from the United Arab Emirates is building up this week, predicted to reach 300,000 before the security forces are expected to enforce the government's September 30 deadline for illegal workers to leave of the country.

esigners living in the UAE will have to leave or be forced out. So far 120,000 "outpasses" — permission to leave — have been issued. Half of India's migrant workers come from the south-west state of Kerala, where there are plans to establish a \$196 million rehabilitation programme for those returning home.

News in brief

Kenya arrests Rwandan exile Kenya has arrested an exiled Rwandan Hutu businessman suspected of being involved in Rwanda's 1994 genocide of up to one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus, state radio and a Rwandan refugee leader, Innocent Butare, said on Saturday.

Netanyahu buoyant on hardline peace policy

The PM is heading for Europe with tales of victory, writes Derek Brown in Jerusalem THE Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, will bring to Europe this week a message of good cheer about a Middle East peace process which everyone else thinks has stalled.

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It is hard to believe, given today's magazine straplines, that just 20 years ago, around two-thirds of women were considered sexually frigid. The legacy of Shere Hite

Page 12

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Echoes of the past end Pope's French visit

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

THE Pope left France yesterday at the end of his controversial four-day visit, his departure marked by a low key final demonstration of protest.

Up to 10,000 gathered in Paris to condemn the "return to moral order" with which the papal visit had, in some minds, been associated.

On the final and most contentious day of his tour, the Pope travelled to Reims to commemorate before 200,000 people the baptism in 496 of King Clovis, the first western European leader to convert to Roman Catholicism.

But in his homily at a military base, the frail 76-year-old pontiff avoided describing France as the "elder daughter of the Church" — a title cherished by nationalists and religious traditionalists in a country which is 80 per cent Roman Catholic.

Instead, he called Clovis's christening a "great baptismal jubilee". The Pope told the congregation: "It gives you an opportunity to reflect on the gifts which you have received and on the responsibilities which flow from them. It should also lead you to review the vast spiritual history of the soul of France."

In Paris, demonstrators — ranging from feminists to anarchists and the traditionally leftwing freemasons — denounced official funding of the papal visit. They said it conflicted with France's secular ideals, established in 1905 when Church and state were constitutionally separated.

Nicole Baruth, a retired teacher, said: "We want a tolerant republic, for all religions, not one with echoes of the divine right of kings. This papal visit, endorsed by the

state, has undermined secular ideals which are just beginning to be understood."

Other demonstrators, who included Protestants and campaigners against racism, denounced Vatican teachings. They released inflated condoms, and chanted: "If only the Virgin Mary had known about abortion."

One placard, echoing rumours about the Pope's health, said: "The Pope has cancer, God exists!"

Benoit Gauchard, chairman of David & Jonathan, an influential gay and lesbian Christian group, said he felt the protests had been successful.

He said: "The clergy distanced itself from statements about Clovis from Jean-Marie Le Pen [the leader of the far-right National Front] and tried very hard to include all Catholics in the celebrations."

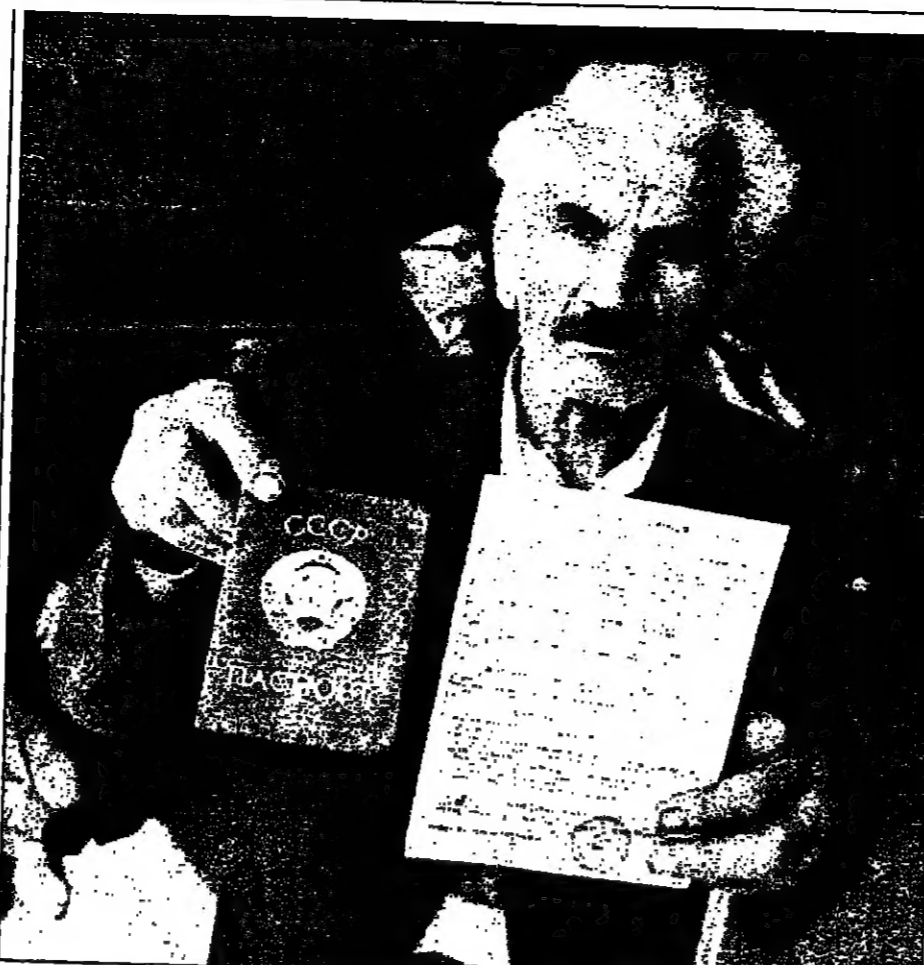
But the meeting on Saturday in Tours between the Pope and 200 "injured of life" — immigrants, homosexuals, homeless, unemployed and handicapped people — had been disappointing, he said.

"The Pope shook hands with the 'religiously-correct' guests, like old ladies, but an AIDS sufferer who had been promised an audience was turned away."

Many of the demonstrators in Paris were not attached to organisations.

Emma Filoche and Lea Heldman, both aged 17, conceded that the Pope had visited France three times under the former Socialist president François Mitterrand without raising eyebrows.

"It is different now because so much has been made of Clovis, as if that ancient king represents us. But it's the Revolution and all that happened after it which represents modern France."



A pensioner shows his Soviet passport, required to vote in yesterday's presidential elections in Armenia. The opposition leader, Vazgen Manukyan, and his National Democratic Union alleged fraud in favour of the president, Ter-Petrosyan. JOHN HOLLAND

Close race ends in victory for Pasok

Greek opposition leader quits after conceding defeat

Helena Smith in Athens

THE Greek Socialist party Pasok held on to power last night in a close general election race against the main opposition New Democracy Party.

After early exit polls gave the Socialists, led by the prime minister Costas Simitis, about 42 per cent of the vote, the opposition conservatives conceded defeat.

Miltiades Evert announced that he was resigning from the leadership of New Democracy.

If the exit polls are confirmed, Mr Simitis will have more than 158 deputies in the 300-seat parliament — down from the present 170 seats, but still with an absolute majority.

In the month-long campaign, Greeks expressed disaffection with the main parties and an unprecedented number of first-time voters cast blank "protest" ballots. The percentage of spoiled ballots was not known last night. The death in June of the

previous prime minister, Andreas Papandreu, made yesterday's election the first without one of the political giants who have controlled Greece since its independence from Turkey in 1833.

"This is the first time Pasok has won a national victory without Andreas Papandreu," said his son, George.

Mr Simitis replaced Papandreu as Pasok leader in January after openly challenging his style and views. Since then he has emerged as one of Greece's most popular politicians, winning praise for his reform programmes.

A former commercial law professor, aged 60, Mr Simitis called the election a year early, seeking a new mandate to consolidate his power and press ahead with domestic and foreign policy decisions.

The election, aides said, was his biggest political gamble since he helped found Pasok from an anti-junta resistance group in 1974.

But while his determination to transform Greece into a modern European Union state has been welcomed, his

lacklustre campaign performance often seemed to alienate supporters.

After decades of being treated to the rousing speeches of Papandreu, voters found Mr Simitis disconcertingly deadpan and many appeared ready to support the smaller parties.

Analysts said they expected DiKKI, a populist socialist splinter group set up earlier this year, to take some votes from Pasok.

In another twist to the election, Mr Evert, a former Athens mayor, shamelessly plundered Pasok's electoral tricks. While Mr Simitis spoke of the need to rein in the enormous budget deficit, Mr Evert adopted a populist platform of costly promises.

With 20 per cent of voters undecided on the eve of the poll, Mr Simitis tried to win support by invoking Papandreu's memory.

Certainly, Pasok's victory has not been without the help of the aura of Papandreu, with whom Mr Simitis so publicly clashed before becoming his successor.

Rivals hover amid silence on Yeltsin

News of a third heart attack intensifies the war for power, finds David Hearst in Moscow

THERE was complete silence, reminiscent of Soviet days, on all Russia's official news agencies yesterday about a Russian surgeon's assertion that President Boris Yeltsin had had an undisclosed heart attack and that a heart bypass operation on him would probably have to be postponed.

Mr Yeltsin's daughter Tatiana Djachenko said in an interview on Russian television that the operation would go ahead and that it "will be done by our surgeons".

Having admitted that he would be a "passive" or lame-duck president without heart surgery, Mr Yeltsin is rapidly running out of options — including political ones.

As he lies in the Central Clinical Hospital, a clutch of ambitious politicians are hovering, all waiting for his death or his resignation.

And his electorate — facing another winter of economic misery — will feel cheated by the cover-up of an apparent third heart attack during a key stage of July's elections.

The disclosure was made by Professor Renat Akchurin, the cardiac surgeon nominated to lead the team conducting the operation. He said he had found scarring on the heart which clearly indicated a heart attack in late June or early July — just before the second round of elections.

Making it clear that he had spoken out of self-preservation, Prof Akchurin said: "The most likely [outcome] is that the operation will be postponed. In effect, if the risks are high, no one will want to take the chance. Here, as in France and in the United States, a surgeon does not jump off a plane without a parachute."

The presidential press office issued no statements and a spokesman said only that Prof Akchurin's comments had been distributed "to all the people concerned".

The Kremlin's chief phys-

ician, Dr Sergei Mironov, insisted that preparation for the operation were going ahead "normally". Speaking on the independent Radio Echo Moskvi, he blamed journalists for starting a panic and said everything would be decided by a commission of doctors meeting this week.

The presidential chief of staff, Anatoly Chubais, declined to comment, but he told a party congress in Moscow of Russia's Democratic Choice: "Those politicians who believe that it is time to take up starting positions in a presidential campaign will very soon realise that they have jumped the gun."

His comments were intended as much for the politicians in power as for those, including the Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov, in opposition. Last week Mr Yeltsin prepared the ground for handing over all his powers, including control over the nuclear button, to his prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. But another decree needs to be signed before the transfer can be activated.

Mr Chernomyrdin has taken a leading Communist, Aman Tuleyev, into his cabinet as minister for the CIS countries, and has held talks with Mr Zyuganov.

Mr Zyuganov has supported Mr Chernomyrdin in a debate about handing all Mr Yeltsin's power over to the head of the government. Their cooperation has fed speculation that they are preparing a pact to see off the nationalist former paratrooper, General Alexander Lebed.

With the economy in tatters and the government's inability to pay public sector wages threatening a financial crisis, Mr Zyuganov's political weight has increased, because his party largely controls the State Duma.

He can offer the prime minister a quiet Duma in return for Mr Zyuganov's ultimate goal: a government of national unity.

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Solid in the centre

But LibDems must take sides

IF A STUDY of the opinion polls held the key to the state of the Liberal Democrats, then the party would be gathering in gloom at Brighton this week. Yesterday's NOP poll showed Paddy Ashdown's party stuck on an underwhelming 14 points, while Labour consolidated a massively consistent lead over the Conservatives. At such a short distance from the general election, that ought to be an extremely sobering rating for the third party, since it implies that Mr Ashdown will be hard put to keep all of his 25 current colleagues in the next Parliament, relegating the Liberal Democrats to yet another period as ephemeral also-rans — albeit this time under Labour rather than the Conservatives.

Yet are they downhearted? Not a bit of it. The actual mood in which the Liberal Democrats are gathering is far from gloom. The party may no longer dream of outright victory in the general election, as its predecessors did fleetingly before the 1983 contest. But the realisation that Mr Ashdown will not next spring be appointing the first Liberal Democrat cabinet since Lloyd George has done little to puncture his party's self-belief. The goals for 1997 have been scaled down compared with 1983. And yet the Liberal Democrats are right to sense that the coming general election could at last consolidate them as a powerful national party — an achievement which has consistently eluded the party and its predecessors for more than 70 years.

The underlying reason for this confidence is ideological. However fuzzy the Liberal Democrats may sometimes seem and be, they have managed to steer a relatively consistent course through the political tempests of the Thatcherite revolution and their aftermath. They have always managed to present themselves as more socially concerned than the Conservatives and less threatening than Labour, with the result that they have always been, whether they like it or not, the centre party. But in the last decade, especially under Mr Ashdown's command, the party has managed to redefine its traditional preoccupations in a more radical manner. While the Conservatives have moved hysterically to the right, dragging an electorally pragmatic Labour Party with them, the Liberal Democrats have seemed increasingly to be the party of secure and tested radical principles — on international questions, the law and order agenda, electoral and institutional reform and especially on the environment. More than either of the other two parties, the Liberal Democrats can claim to have been vindicated by the events of the 1980s and 1990s. Let us hope that they do not waver on them now.

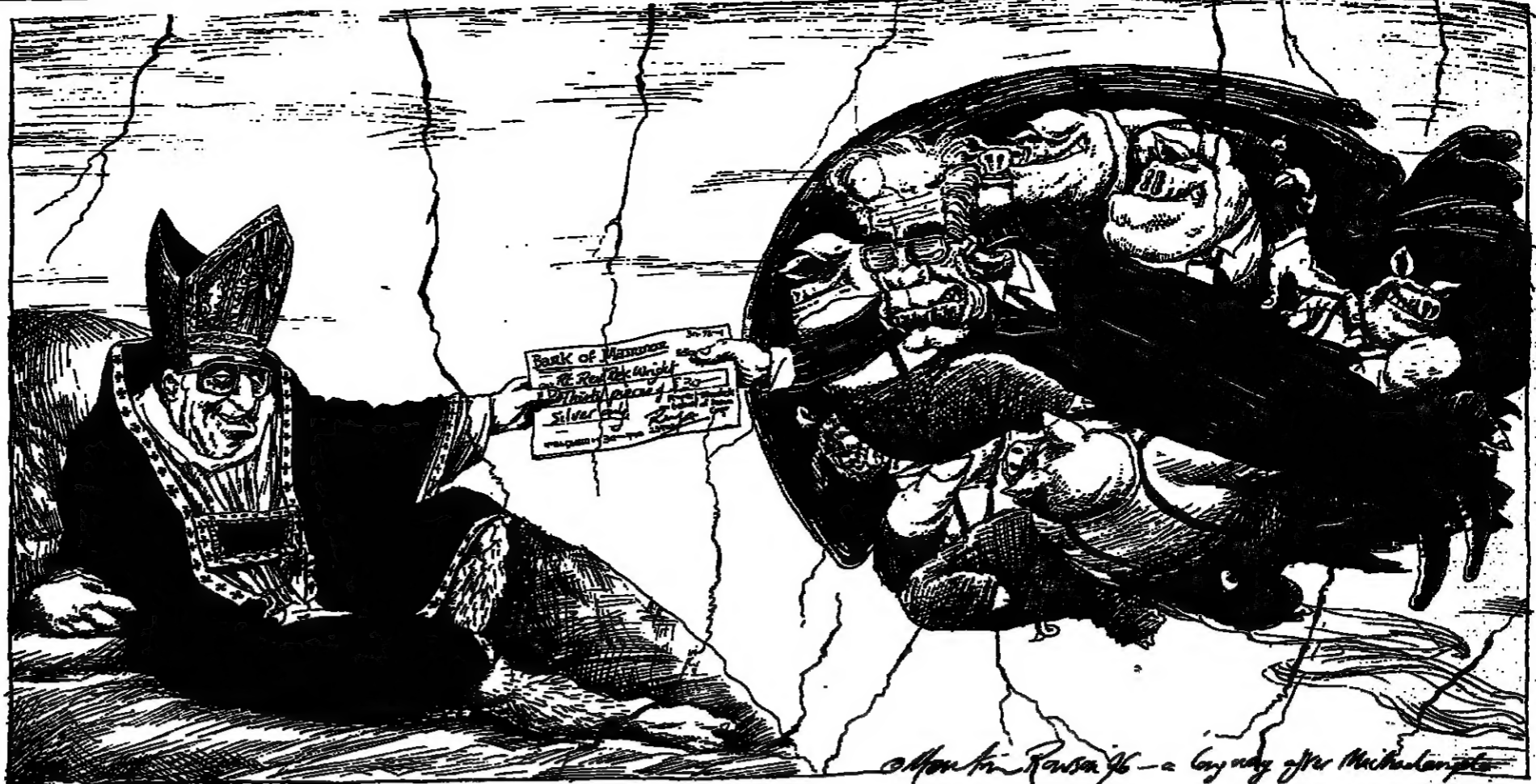
And yet the Liberal Democrats are more than ever the third party in our national politics. The electoral reality of the coming months is that their role is to win seats, especially in the south-west, that Tony Blair's Labour Party cannot manage to capture. They have, as one columnist put it yesterday, the progressive franchise in these parts of the country and their contribution has to be seen in that essentially tactical context. The Liberal Democrats will spend many of the coming days indignantly denouncing Mr Blair and differentiating themselves from Labour. Yet they should not be too self-righteous. Mr Blair is not beyond criticism, but he is the best thing that has happened to them in years. When the time comes next spring, their party and his must be on the same side in driving out the Conservatives and rebuilding our battered society.

Fairer for poor pupils

So why does the Old Left rubbish it?

ONCE UPON a time a long long period ago, a Labour government struggled to create a fairer system of education for people aged 16 to 18. It rightly concluded the existing system was random, chaotic, unfair — lagging hopelessly behind our main competitors. One reason why Britain in the 1970s had the lowest staying on rates of almost all European states was the inadequate help which low income families received if their children remained in fulltime education. Only a tiny proportion was given education maintenance allowances and even then, allowances were set at a miserably level. A determined Education Secretary called Shirley Williams tried to persuade the cabinet to introduce a national system of allowances. She failed. To their shame, her Labour cabinet colleagues who had spending plans of their own vetoed it. Two decades on, New Labour has produced something new: a well-designed plan to keep more poor pupils in fulltime education only to be berated by Tory, Liberal Democrat and Old Labour followers.

Britain's post-16 education remains random, chaotic and unfair. Fewer young people stay on in fulltime education than in any major industrial country except Turkey. There is a huge drop out with both France and Germany having half as many again in fulltime education by 18. Perverse incentives suck 170,000 into youth training schemes where half do not finish the course and of those that do, one-third get no qualification. Only three out of every 100 pupils receive education maintenance allowances and then only an average of 27 a week. Is it any wonder so many pupils from poor homes turn to no-hope youth training schemes paying 235-a-week allowances rather than stay on for the sixth form? Sensibly, Labour is restructuring this system. Youth training — against which the last Dearing report inveighed — will be scrapped. There will only be two education ladders for post-16 pupils — work-based or fulltime in school or college. Middle and low income families who keep their children in fulltime education will be rewarded. There will be a basic education maintenance allowance plus a special increment for poor families. Belatedly, the perverse incentives which have entrenched educational inequality will be tackled. Here is a rare example of New Labour being ready to redistribute from the better-off to the poor but Labour's Old Left and the silly Liberal Democrat spokeswoman both complain. Why? Because Labour will finance this scheme through pooling and then redistributing 2650 million of post-16 child benefit, 2500 million youth training grants, and 211 million education maintenance allowances. New Labour is right — its critics wrong and reactionary. Child benefit is not universal beyond 16. Only 50 per cent of families receive it. Mothers with unemployed children do not get it; the better off with children in sixth form do. Labour would be re-directing money from those who don't need it to those who do. Reformers should be embracing the principle, not joining the Tories in rejecting it.



Letters to the Editor

Justice went overboard

I AM sure I cannot be alone in being dismayed at the choice of words used by both Kevin Maxwell and Mr Justice Buckley in justifying the former's acquittal by the latter (Maxwell goes free, September 20).

I am a Mirror Group pensioner. I took early retirement after over 26 years as a staff photographer in order to nurse my dying wife and care for our children. Under the chapel house agreement my service entitled me to some 247,500, but since Robert Maxwell, as part of his asset-stripping programme, chose to repudiate this agreement, he kept 80 per cent of that. I sometimes think of how much more use it would have been to us.

If Mr Justice Buckley had had the chance to see with what fortitude my late wife bore the pain of her illness and the misery of leaving her family so early, he might have felt that the Maxwell family, with their legal interests protected by some 230

million of taxpayers' legal aid, offered a greater — in his words — "affront to fair play and decency" and were, therefore, rather less deserving of his all-important sympathy. Terry Rand, Falldon Way, London NW11.

RECALL Mrs Maxwell's distress during the previous trial, when several newspapers (including yours) obligingly published lengthy interviews with her. She was pictured gamely hanging up laundry from the calling of the barn in which the family was living, pointing out that, far from being rich, her husband was dependent on legal aid to meet his defence costs. Immediately after the acquittal, however, the rejoicing Maxwells sped off to a mansion provided by her wealthy father.

None of this would matter, I suppose, if the present decision set a humane precedent for other defendants whose families would be distressed

by criminal proceedings, let alone conviction and imprisonment. In fact, all it does is to show once more that rich, successful people have nothing to fear from the justice system, especially if, like Kevin Maxwell, and Jeffrey Archer before him, they have personable wives. Peter Close, 8 Stannard Road, London E8 1DB.

SEVERAL members of the Maxwell fraud jury were in the public gallery to hear Mr Justice Buckley "vindicate" their verdict in the first trial. This shows an obsessive interest, given that they had said originally that they had neither seen nor heard of Robert Maxwell.

Do we want such people determining cases like this in future? Tony Boram, Chairman, Association of Mirror Pensioners, Bridges House, 27 Court Street, Nayland, Colchester CO6 4JL.

SPECIALLY composed juries will not improve the situation (Leader, September 20). I cannot see the justice in someone accused of a white collar crime having the privilege of a jury composed of the type of men and women he would encounter every day. It would engender sympathy and understanding of his plight and may encourage perverse verdicts.

It could equally be argued that if a policeman were charged with perjury and perverting the course of justice, he would be entitled to a jury of policemen so that he could be judged by people who understood the culture in which he operated. John Thompson, 25 West Street, Newport NP9 4DD.

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a telephone number. We may edit letters; shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

Sorting out labels for the launch of the party conference circuit

ALEX Carlile is quite right to say that Tony Blair is no Liberal (Bye bye S-word, 20 September) — but he appears somewhat confused about the nature of his own party, the Liberal Democrats. He says: "Running through the veins of our conference... will be modern Liberalism". I wonder if Shirley Williams, Charles Kennedy and other social democrats would agree? Nigel Ashton, Secretary General, Liberal Party, 1a Pine Grove, Southport, Lancashire PR9 9AQ.

ALEX Carlile has crystallised my thoughts on New Labour. I have voted Labour for the past 43 years but now Labour is apparently no longer socialist. How the spectacle of Tony Blair turning like a weather-vane to catch every puff of electoral advantage is not edifying. I am faced with the choice of an opportunist centrist party and a centrist party of conviction. I will therefore have to vote for the Liberal Democrats. Peter Shield, 20 Willerby Road, Woodthorpe, Nottingham NG8 4PB.

YOUR reporter remarks that "the legalisation of cannabis" is not "Lib Dem policy" (Mawhinney makes play for 'soft' Lib Dem support, September 21). Had he actually consulted our document, he would have seen that the September 1994 Liberal Democrat Party conference voted to decriminalise cannabis. He would also have been reminded that an internal Liberal Democrat assessment of the party's weaknesses, leaked earlier this year, had identified one of these as the fact that the "Lib Dems would legalise drugs". (Dr) Julian Lewis, Conservative Research Dept, 32 Smith Square, London SW1P 3EH.

Excess licence

ASPECTS of the funding of the BBC are inappropriate in this day and age: it is funded directly by licence holders and not from general taxes. In this sense the BBC is very like other services, such as the gas and water utilities, in that the user pays direct to the provider, whereas the utilities can only use the civil law to deal with those who do not pay their dues, the BBC, through its collection agency TV Licensing, is likely to initiate proceedings in the criminal courts.

Fall to pay your water or electric bill and you may find yourself in the county court and ordered to pay off your debt — but at a rate you can afford. Get caught without a TV licence and you will probably end up with a fine — or a period in prison if you can't pay — and a criminal conviction.

We wouldn't tolerate a water company using public funds to imprison payment defaulters so why do we still accept it for the BBC? Tim Todd, Abingdon, Oxon.



Factory farms' poor harvest

PRINCE Charles (Prince hits at farming's "unnatural methods", September 20) is right to point out the links between poor food quality, BSE and factory farming. Keeping thousands of animals together in a confined space helps to spread disease, precludes natural behaviour patterns and causes problems with the disposal of slurry.

Factory farming is supposed to be more economic because it requires less land and fewer workers. However, the EU is now paying farmers not to use some land for agricultural purposes (set aside) because of surplus capacity, and while employing fewer people may benefit a farm's

profitability, it is clearly damaging to unemployed farm workers and to the rural economy in general. Furthermore intensive farming uses more fuel energy than free range systems. The EU should set a date for the ending of factory farming and start the change by using the Common Agricultural Policy budget to subsidise organic and other extensive farming systems. Richard Merrifield, 76 Springfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham B14 7DY.

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a telephone number.

At this rate...

THOSE who advocate linking the national non-domestic rating system to firms' turnover (Tories urged to make big firms pay more rates, September 17) are missing the point. The priority should be to remove the inequalities from the present system to create a level playing field for all businesses.

At the last revaluation in 1995, London firms saw their properties decrease in value, yet they are denied a corresponding reduction in their rates bills by the current phasing arrangements imposed by the Government. As a result, there are areas in London where rates are higher than rents, buildings are standing empty, and it is more expensive to refurbish an existing building than it is to knock it down and build a new one. The Government should use the next Budget to abolish, or at the very least speed up, the transitional phasing arrangements. Simon Sperry, Chief Executive, London Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 33 Queen Street, London EC4R 1AP.

A Country Diary

CLEY MARSHES: Although scientists would disapprove, the behaviour of some birds seems so gloriously characterful I can't resist anthropomorphic interpretations. The classic examples are the cormorants at this Norfolk Wildlife Trust reserve. These seabirds have made one of the man-made islands their favourite hang-out, spending large parts of the day preening and sleeping off heavy fish meals, and reminding me for all the world of a bunch of loafing hooligans. Although a cormorant can look very smart with its silvery crest and glossy green-black breeding plumage, these Cley birds are mainly immatures. At this age they're only a dull black-brown. The underparts are an equally undistinguished dirty white irregularly invaded by splotchy yellow. With the loose skin of their throat pouch, their hooked beaks and green reptilian eyes, cormorants always look faintly vulgar. They often stand head back, legs apart and mouth wide open with their latest catch clearly visible in the distended throat. Occasionally they vomit the

whole fish back up, catch and manoeuvre it in their bill, so they can then re-swallow it more comfortably. This is often followed by the cormorant's most indelicate performance. The webbed feet are thrust sideways with the ritual solemnity of a sumo wrestler. Then the tail is raised slowly until it achieves a vertical position, when the bird fires out a jet of guano with all the exaggerated relish of a naughty schoolboy. To get airborne, cormorants have to go through a similarly deliberate routine, waddling over the shingle with heavy wings hammering furiously at the air. Gradually all this untidy effort resolves into a compact, purposeful if hardly graceful action. Although on occasions cormorants in flight can assume a certain heraldic beauty. At dusk, the Norfolk birds go to roost en masse on the most flats, moving overhead in long formations until their arrow-like silhouettes merge with the wider, softer darkness of the evening sky. MARK COCKER

Tax the rich and splash out on the poor

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

IT IS, I know, a savage accusation. But all the evidence suggests that John Major wrote the "taxation is immoral" speech himself. It was certainly written in his style — not imitable, but unlikely to be imitated by anyone who has a feeling for the English language. The key sentence — "Is it moral to compulsorily take so much tax from people?" — contains a split infinitive compounded by a redundant adverb. If a levy is not compulsory, it is not a tax.

There followed a second question which was presumably intended to strengthen the initial argument. It succeeded in emphasising the Prime Minister's immunity to syntax. "Is it moral to impose obligations on employers like the Social Chapter? Clearly employers like the Social Chapter are close relatives of an Irishman with one eye called Pat.

There was more to complain about in the Prime Minister's speech than his talent

for making the tongue that Shakespeare spoke sound like a two-stroke engine with dirty plugs and point. The substance was as crass as the style. When a man writes to the Inland Revenue with the complaint that his tax code makes no allowance for his liabilities, he can legitimately claim that he is paying too much tax. But what on earth does that judgment mean when it is applied to a whole nation? Did John Major mean that everybody in Britain is paying too much? Was his concern just for the rich, or (more improbably) just for the poor? How is too much tax defined? Was he saying that existing public services could be financed at a lower cost or that some services — which he thought it prudent not to specify — should be cut in order to reduce the standard rate?

There is a theory which argues that any tax is too much tax and tries to dress up the greed of high earners to look like political (if not moral) philosophy. Frederick von Hayek insisted that "agreements by the majority on sharing the booty gained by overwhelming a minority of fellow-citizens and deciding how much to take from them

is not democracy". But even he does not defend the ethics of a system that leaves the availability of essential services to the vagaries of the market. "To demand justice from such a process is self-evidently absurd." But at least Hayek accepts by implication the point which John Major does not dare to concede. It is impossible rationally to discuss the level of taxes without also considering the quality of the public services which they finance.

All that the Prime Minister hoped to achieve with his pathetically inadequate rhetorical question was a flimsy justification for the tax cuts which the government will make in November without the slightest regard for the economic or social consequences of their decision. He would like the nation to believe that tax cuts — right in themselves — are unrelated to government spending on essential services.

He hoped to plant a corrupt little idea in simple minds — and he got away with it

ment which he now leads has increased taxes 22 times in 17 years. Somebody should have told him that the text was wrong. Nobody, to use the daffiest political phrase of the decade, "taxes for taxation sake". The Prime Minister's enquiries about political morality should have been answered by a series of other questions.

Is it moral to allow patients to die because the health ser-

vice cannot provide the right treatment at the right time? Is it moral to force millions of families to live in poverty because payments under our present welfare system often fail to meet basic needs? Is it moral to expect the mentally sick to wander the streets because so-called "care in the community" saves money, whether the community cares or not? Is it moral to condemn

generations of children to inferior education because of the arbitrary limits imposed on education spending? Taxation — whether it was on gin in the 19th century or capital gains in the 20th — has a purpose. As well as regulating the economy and discouraging undesirable activities, it is the way in which we finance essential public services.

Unless the Labour Party begins to argue the case for public expenditure, the general election is going to turn into a Dutch auction which Tony Blair cannot win. Yesterday's headlines — "Nervous Labour says £100,000 isn't rich" and "Front bench rebels tell Blair to raise taxes on top earners" — confirm that the argument will go on right up to polling day. And continued refusal even to contemplate increasing the top rate will appear either devout or absurd. Without the promise of some increase in taxation, Labour is not a credible government. There is a pragmatic as well as a principled argument for not struggling to occupy the low ground of politics.

When, a couple of weeks ago, I read that Labour now aspired to reduce the stan-

dard rate to 10 per cent, I trembled not for the consequences of that aspiration, but for its effect on the political debate.

I really did expect Kenneth Clarke to announce the Tory intention of going down to five per cent. Would, I wondered, Gordon Brown feel a duty to offer a zero rate and would it be followed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer insisting that a decent tax system pays out rather than takes in. No wonder that the general public has a low opinion of politicians. The idea that their votes are for sale shows how low an opinion politicians have of them. At least the general public deserve better.

I am not one of those people who exorcise John Major for talking about morality. The balance between taxation and public spending is a moral issue. The rich have a duty to help the poor. The Prime Minister stood that simple ethical truth on its head. My real complaint is not against him, for he knows no better. It is against more enlightened politicians who should have realised that they have nothing to gain from trying to make fiscal vice look like political virtue.

مكتبة الشارقة

Managua Diary

Jonathan Steele

Nicaragua's capital has a dubious claim to fame. It's the only world city with no street names. From the Tesaco station, two blocks towards the lake, one block west is the style for addresses. Managua now has a brand-new attraction, "to the Inter (short for the Intercontinental Hotel), one block south". There you find the entrance to the ruined hillside complex which was once the headquarters of Central America's most notorious dictator, Anastasio Somoza. Almost two decades have passed since Somoza was ousted, but the Sandinista revolutionaries who overthrew him never opened the place. Only now, in the closing months of the next government, has it been dedicated as a "national park". The grandiose title is deceptive, as the entrance is still blocked by a military roadblock and you need a VIP to persuade the soldiers to let you through. Inside, the road winds up to a small plateau above a green volcanic lake where three plaques commemorate members of the Nicaraguan Conservative Party, including the current President Violeta Chamorro's husband, who were tortured here. The grass is unmown, lovers' graffiti disfigure the collapsed walls of Somoza's palace, and the whole thing would be lacking were it not for the stunning view and a 60-foot-tall statue of the icon of the 1979 revolution, General Somoza, which was put up by the last defence minister. With its riding breeches and broad-brimmed hat, the giant silhouette broods over the city. My first escort to the hillside was Domingo Sanchez, an elderly Communist MP, who recalled being blindfolded on his several detentions here. Somoza's tame lions roared nearby to frighten the hooded prisoners, though they were never let loose. Sadly, we could not locate the entrance to the torture chambers, and it was only the next day, this time with Marta Cramshaw, the one-time Sandinista governor of Leon, that we found someone to open a guarded inner compound. Grim is a mild word for what the steps down to a narrow corridor revealed. Bats swooped out as we walked into the first of three small holding cells where Marta pointed by torchlight to the shackles where she was hand-and-roped as a 19-year-old student. Naked except for her hood, prisoners were held in torture chambers which had air-conditioners, used mainly to drown out their screams. The "yuck" factor was the wash-basin with the mirror above. Caked with sweat and blood, victims were allowed to lift their heads when the torturers left the cell, and have a pleasant wash. There's nothing like the intimacy of the bathroom to reveal a person's morale. Little did the victim know the mirror was two-way glass. Interrogators and torturers watched to see whether the prisoners looked relieved, confident, or broken as they splashed about. If, as in Marta's case, the victim was a young woman, Peeping Tommy added to the obscenity.

FROM the slime to the meticulous: you can drive 10 miles out of town to another Somoza-style venue, the Ticomo Golf and Polo Club. Due to open in a few months' time, the club will be Nicaragua's only golf course. Alvaro Somoza, a distant relative of the assassinated dictator, fustily watches as tractors seed Bermuda grass into rich soil. He cut his golfing teeth as a small boy at an earlier country club which, he fulminates, the Sandinistas turned into a training ground for tank-drivers. Bankers and greens were churned up with equal abandon. "I could have been a Latin Nick Faldo if I had had proper coaching," says Somoza modestly. "Also I've never been a slave of golf, though I am very gifted. I've won 82 amateur tournaments around the world." When the course is ready and the swimming-pool built, he hopes the club will be a home-from-home for foreign investors in Nicaragua, particularly "oriental gentlemen" who understand that golf equals civilisation. As the Sandinista revolution fades into history, it's clearly better to look forward than back.

THEY'RE A LITTLE LIKE THE GUIDELINES ON CELEBRITY. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. CHIEF MINISTER RECALIBRATES HIS OWN VIEW.



How the West Country could be won

Commentary

Paul Whiteley

SINCE 1983, when the Alliance came within an ace of pushing Labour into second place, the Liberal Democrats have seen their general election vote continuously decline. An average of only 15 per cent of the electorate has supported the Liberal Democrats in the monthly Gallup polls since the 1992 general election. At times, this has fallen to only 10 per cent, which is a very long way from the 26 per cent the Alliance party received in 1983. In one theory of electoral choice, the party which captures the "median" voter — the person at the very centre of the "left-right" ideological spectrum — wins every election in a two-party system. In Britain this should be a Liberal Democrat, but unfortunately for them this is not true in a three-party system, where the centre party always loses because it is squeezed out by the others. The Liberal Democrats lose out on all the key variables

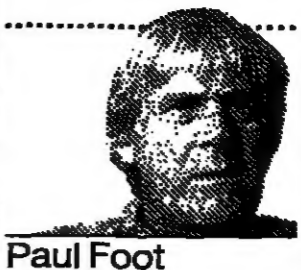
which determine voting behaviour. The first is party identification, or the psychological attachments which voters feel towards their preferred party. Since the 1992 election an average of 27 per cent of the electorate have identified with the Conservatives, 39 per cent with Labour, but only 12 per cent with the Liberal Democrats. Moreover, strong Liberal Democrat identifiers, a bedrock vote which stays with the party through thick and thin, are a minute proportion of the electorate. The second determinant of voting behaviour is perceptions of the party leaders. Actually Paddy Ashdown has a good approval rating; for example, in the Gallup 9,000 survey in July of this year, some 57 per cent of voters thought that he was a good leader of the Liberal Democrats. The problem is that this does not translate into support for him as a potential prime minister. When asked to compare all three party leaders on the question of who would make the best prime minister, 37 per cent chose Tony Blair, 19 per cent John Major, and only 18 per cent Paddy Ashdown (28 per cent didn't know). This may well be because the voters reason that since he is never likely to become prime minister, he would not make a very good job of it anyway. The third key factor is issues

perceptions. The "feelgood" factor, or the electorate's perceptions of the future state of their economic well-being, is particularly important. We know that a decline in the feelgood factor hurts the Tories and helps Labour, just as an improvement has the opposite effect. But changes in the feelgood factor appear to have no effect at all on the standing of the Liberal Democrats. This is clearly because voters who are pessimistic about their economic future turn to Labour as the alternative government, not to the Liberal Democrats. Liberal Democrat voters also tend to be all over the place in terms of their issue preferences. According to the British Election Study some 19 per cent of Liberal Democrat voters in 1992 thought Britain should withdraw from the European Community, 22 per cent wanted more nationalisation, and no less than 28 per cent thought that we should keep the first-past-the-post electoral system rather than introduce PR. Furthermore, a recent ICM poll suggests that most voters oppose the Lib Dem plan to increase income tax to pay for education. So what should the Liberal Democrats do, if they are to avoid further electoral decline, particularly in the face of New Labour? The solution is to play to their advantages, two of which stand out. One is

that they are perceived by the electorate as being moderate, united, willing to work for the whole country, and to be a caring party. They should take a leaf out of Tony Blair's book and talk in terms of building social consensus and bringing back honesty and decency to British politics. In their activists, particularly in the South West where they are strong. Their current success in local government has been based on painstaking local campaigning, something which used to be called "community politics". Of course, it might be said that their past success in local politics has never really translated into success in Westminster elections. But there are reasons to believe that this situation is changing. Firstly, regional variations in voting behaviour are now much greater than in general elections. The Liberal Democrats are the dominant party in local government and the second party in national government in the South West. Starting from a base of six MPs and many councillors, there are four or five Conservative seats they could win in that region. IN THE region, they easily outnumber the other two parties in terms of the number of grassroots campaigners on the ground, since the Conservative grassroots is in a parlous state, and Labour is weak and will concentrate on campaigning elsewhere. Our research shows that intensive local campaigning immediately after the party conference ends in areas where they can win, and relentlessly keep it up until the election. One last, but important, point is that they should not announce that this is the strategy.

Paul Whiteley is Professor of Politics at the University of Sheffield

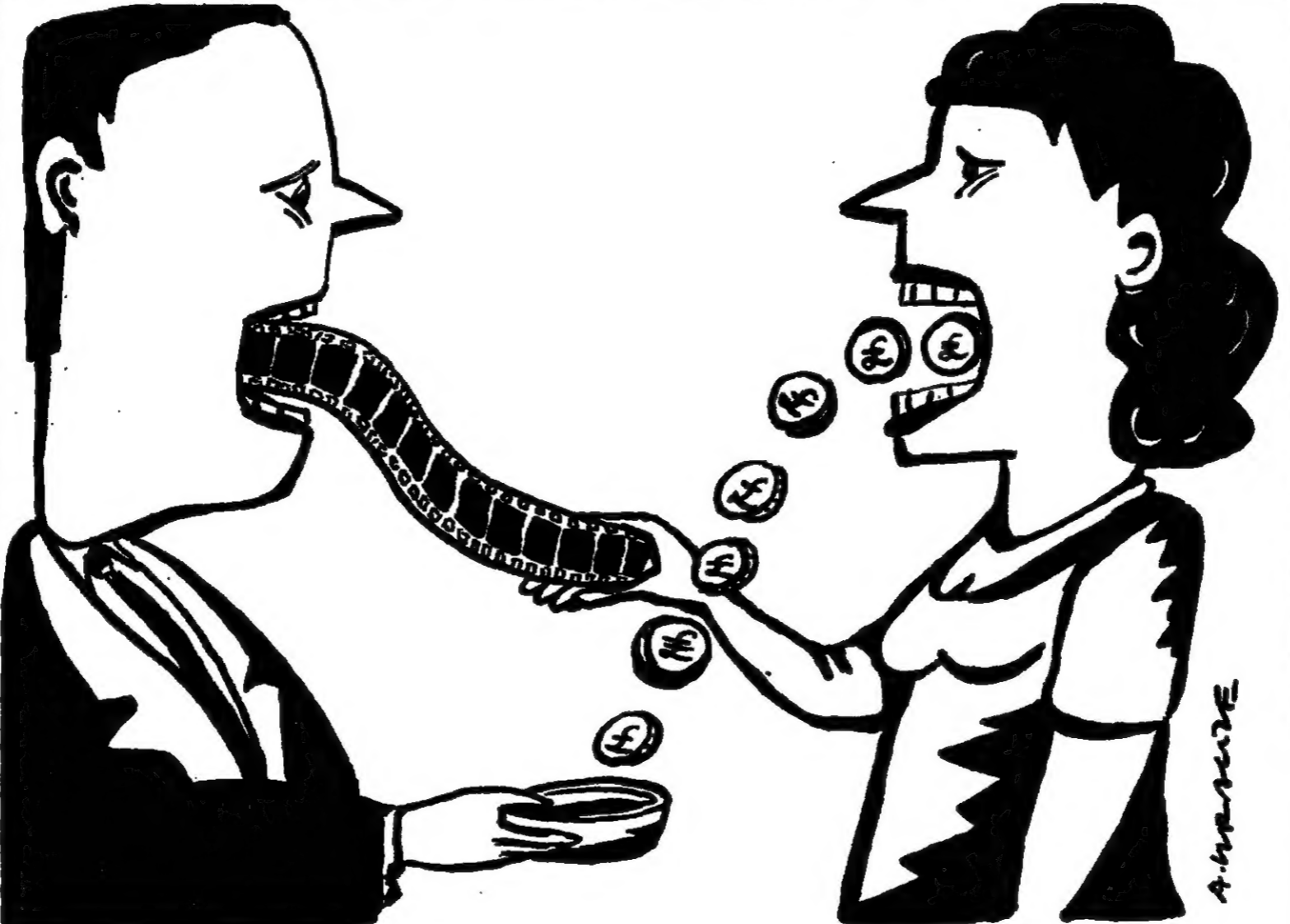
A special jury fit for the 'squeaky clean'



Paul Foot

"BLAME the jury" was the instinctive reaction in the Serious Fraud Office and the Home Office to the acquittals of Kevin Maxwell. The problem with juries, concluded the solicitors, accountants and bankers who run the SFO, is they can't call on the expertise of solicitors, accountants and bankers. "There are," reported the Guardian, "suggestions from inside the SFO that courts should be given back the power they lost 35 years ago to swear in 'special juries' composed of bank managers, accountants and other financially experienced people." Always keen to help, I plunge into The Final Verdict, Tom Bower's comprehensive book on the Maxwell trial, to conjure up the perfect special jury. For accountants, the obvious choices are Peter Walsh and Stephen Wootton from Coopers & Lybrand, who audited the accounts of Maxwell's companies right up to the end and stuck closely and expertly to the iron law of auditors: that they must believe what they are told by the directors of their client company. As for solicitors, who could serve a jury more expertly than Dick Russell of the big City firm Titmus Salner, who hardly left the side of Kevin Maxwell as his companies and pension funds headed for the rocks? Russell's extra qualification is that he is Kevin Maxwell's brother-in-law. Another exceedingly well-qualified solicitor, who acted for the Princess of Wales in her divorce, is Anthony Julius of Mishcon de Roya. He advised the Maxwell family in their extraordinary feud with Tom Bower. What about bankers? From a vast and glittering array, I pick three: John Melbourne, chief executive of corporate risk at the National Westminster, whose generous support for the Maxwells was legendary; Julie Maitland of Credit Suisse, who so proudly agreed to be part of the inner circle of bankers advising Kevin Maxwell; and Eric Steinberg of Goldman Sachs, the Maxwells' faithful broker. As for stockbrokers, no juror would have more expert knowledge of the market than Sir Michael Richardson of Smith New Court, who worked closely with Robert Maxwell for years and declared him "squeaky clean with me". The perfect jury would need a financier who understands the world of politics. Step for-

ward former Tory Cabinet minister Lord Walker, formerly of Slater Walker, whose short and lucrative sojourn in the Maxwell board sent such reassuring messages to the markets and the Government. For political balance to Labour, what about Labour's Lord Donoughue, a big wheel in the Maxwell company which traded in the pension funds, London and Bishops-gate Investments? My special jury would not be complete without two stalwarts from Mirror Group Newspapers — the current chairman, distinguished merchant banker Sir Robert Clark, whose association with Robert Maxwell goes back long before Maxwell was declared unfit to run a public company in 1971, and the Mirror's managing director, former Times editor Charles Wilson, who was down on his luck when Maxwell hired him to run the Sporting Life, and has never looked back. What a jury! Financial-crime cases heard by juries such as this would soon win back public confidence in the courts, and reinforce the prevailing view that, in the rare cases where rich people find themselves in the dock, justice is far too risky a business to be left to the common people. THANKS to all the former public schoolboys who have responded so warmly to my nostalgic reflections about my former housemaster, Tony "Whacker" Chadwick-Trench, I was surprised to discover from your letters how precisely Trench followed the same buttocks-smacking routine — and how quickly and relentlessly he got to work. One remarkable letter records: "I arrived at Bradford [where Trench was headmaster] in September 1956. Within about three weeks, a few days before my 14th birthday, I was summoned in the evening to Trench's study. His mood was confidential and intimate... With pats on the thigh I was made to accept guilt for an unfortunate remark I had made about another boy during a gym lesson. I had to lower my clothes and lie face down on a sofa. He beat me very hard with six blows from a leather strap. I was badly hurt and the pain was not just physical. I don't think I told anyone about it at the time... It was only later, as an adult, husband and father that I came to understand that this behaviour was far more pernicious than muscular punishment in the public-school tradition. It was calculated misuse of authority, abuse of trust and humiliation of the child." Was all this worth it for the glories of a public school education? My correspondent declared: "Our two sons went to the local comprehensive," he writes, "both did far better than I did at Bradford, and I think are likely to be better and more effective people."



Lottery of largesse

Nicholas Fraser calls for a properly-funded Government policy to aid film-makers — and an end to the present flawed dependence on the National Lottery and the Arts Council

THE British film industry, with its air of helpless dependence on the venerable Arts Council, has traditionally been the despair of its continental counterparts. "We often recognise your film-makers more readily than you do," the former French cultural minister Jack Lang stikily remarked to an audience in London. "You make good films, but I think we have a greater regard for film culture." Lang was trumpeting the virtues of the French subsidy system, which allows cineastes to work regularly, building up a comprehensive oeuvre that can then be trotted out for foreigners as evidence of the existence of French culture. Neither the high-minded French way, nor the successful Irish method of tax breaks, exists in Britain, where indigent film-makers get to Hollywood for money, in the vicinity of TV bosses, or turn over and die. But help is at least at hand, from the unlikely quarter of gambling addicts. In the past year, 32 projects have received support totalling just over £18 million from the National Lottery, making Virginia Bottomley a more substantial

patroness of moving pictures than Channel 4 or the BBC. The dole is handed out via specialist committees of the venerable Arts Council. Three additional committees, from the British Film Institute, the British Screen Advisory Council and the Independent Film Panel, are there to give advice. Some form of existing investment is required; no grant can total more than £1 million, or 50 per cent of the budget; and the paperwork is awesome. What happens in the event of conflicts of interest? "Well, in that instance, we leave the room," a participant explains. "It's all done terribly correctly." How original are the Arts Council's choices? Among the first "Lottery films" — the tag is already used in disparagement — are to be found Thomas Hardy's Woodlanders, a life of Oscar Wilde, the 1987 Oxford and Cambridge Boat race, Julian Barnes's Metroland — projects with a distinctly déjà vu feel. And yet there are limits to the Arts Council's interest in taking risks, as became apparent in its recent rejection of Love is a Devil, John Maybury's project for the British Film Institute about the life of Francis Bacon. Maybury's treatment focused on the cir-

cumstances surrounding the suicide of Bacon's lover George Dyer, the night before the 1971 Paris exhibition featuring the famous canvases of Dyer seated on the toilet. Although the committee was happy to go ahead, Arts Council Chairman Lord Gowrie, a friend of Bacon's, thought it was "too early" to make over the painter's sado-masochist sexual practices. The experts were overruled in the interest of bourgeois taste. Can quangos composed of arts administrators and "safe" experts called from the industry really be relied on to make the right creative decisions? Do they know new talent when they see it? I doubt whether Shallow Grave or Trainspotting would have survived quangoisation; their producers would have seemed too young, or too maverick. Council itself, suggests that more than half a dozen "manuscripts" should be created over a period of five years. Both basically propose to use windfall Lottery money in order to transform British film, venturing where the City hasn't dared to go. Fungy applicants — many of them drawn from the ranks of the people currently advising the Arts Council — are queuing up. "There's scarcely a producer in London who isn't expecting to come or join a consortium," says Variety breathlessly described the prospective gravy train. Successful applicants will need to be "established" as companies, able to pitch well, and be skilled in drawing up business plans, or hiring other people to do them. Critics of the schemes say that they will exclude outsiders, leading to the usual British-style carve-up. "This is the world of the usual suspects," said one producer. "They're an incestuous cartel — and they've been bankrupting the industry for the past 10 years in the name of high-mindedness and art. They're really asking for a bailout." Aside from who gets what and when, however, the strategy poses other, deeper problems. Lotteryisation has become the perfect symbol of the empty cultural policies of the 1980s. And these schemes have a stale, faintly desperate air. It is as if their proponents, having laboured long and hard, felt good at having come to any conclusion allowing them to get their hands on the cash. Film finance involves risk capital. Lottery money comes,

however indirectly, from the public — all the innocuous-sounding talk about "franchises" cannot disguise this fact. Many of these "mini-studios" will go bust, either through sheer bad luck or by misjudging the market, churning out the sort of mid-Atlantic, middlebrow material that put Goldcrest into the receivers's hands. Nor will these schemes encourage the odd, distinctly British combination of wilful eccentricity and inspired opportunism which the best film-makers have carried with them in their wilder years — and which, to judge by the recent string of box-office successes, is finally paying off. Every producer I talked to agreed that this use of Lottery money was dubious, or at best inappropriate, when they weren't adamantly opposed to it as a matter of principle, but they also described the prospect of finally receiving assistance as an irresistible one. "Call me old and terminally pragmatic," signed one Great British Producer. "I feel like Alan Bennett when he was asked whether he was gay or straight. If you're crossing the desert and somebody offers you water, you're not going to ask whether it's Malvern or Ferris."

Nicholas Fraser is the editor of First Cut on BBC2. This is a personal view.

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10 OBITUARIES

Annabella

Belle of three nations

THE FILM actress Annabella, who has died aged 87, had the distinction of achieving stardom in France, America and this country. In Britain she will always have a place in the reference books as the heroine of Wings of the Morning...



International beauty... Annabella with Henry Fonda in Wings of the Morning, 1937

Hungarian, which was shot on location in Budapest. In 1934, she won the best actress award at the Venice Film Festival for Vierge d'Armes. Annabella said that she had become fascinated by the business of film when she was 12 years old...

He was most widely admired in his adopted home city of Birmingham, where he had settled as a young barrister in 1933. He was also Parliament's best chess player. A warm and witty man with a gentle smile, Silverman had half the ego and twice the caution of fellow Labour MP Sydney Silverman...

Julius Silverman

Checkmate in the Commons



Julius Silverman... gently civilising the USSR

Julius Silverman, who has died aged 90, was a member of the Labour Party for 70 years, and was Birmingham's quiet left-wing MP, alternately for Erdington and Aston, for the 38 years from 1945 to 1983. He was also Parliament's best chess player.

His appointment as Archdeacon of Stow was a recognition that, as well as being a disciplined parish priest, Scott possessed a clear and thorough mind and cared for efficient and effective administration. For 14 years he laboured for the diocese on the practicalities of church life, while being at the same time the parish priest of the village of Hackthorn...

William Moyce

Bomb scientist with cloth cap and baccy tin

BILL MOYCE, who has died aged 82, played a crucial part in the developing and testing of Britain's first atomic bombs. He retained a delightful, simple attitude to life which endeared him to his neighbours and colleagues.

During the second world war, he worked on research into improving small arms at the Royal Ordnance factory at Swynnerton in the Potteries, where he met a Scots lass, Barbara Manson Campbell, who was a shorthand typist in the research department. They married in 1947.

Birthdays

Toby Balding, racehorse trainer, 60; Ray Charles, singer and pianist, 68; Baroness David, former Labour Whip, 83; Lord Feldman, chairman of the Shopping Hours Reform Council, 70; Frank Foster, saxophonist and director of the Count Basie orchestra, 68; James Guinness, former deputy chairman of Guinness Peat, 72; Julio Iglesias, singer and musician, 53; Pamela Kirby, pharmacist, 43; Richard Lambert, editor of the Financial Times, 52; Sir Gordon Linacre, chairman, Opera North and president of Yorkshire Post Newspapers, 76; Dr Brian Lloyd, nutritionist, 76; Genista McIntosh, executive director of the Royal National Theatre, 50; Larry Mize, golfer, 38; Mickey Rooney, actor, 76; Bruce Springsteen, singer, 39; Labour singer-songwriter 47; Jeff Squire, rugby footballer, 45; John Wilkinson, Conservative MP, 56; Norma Winstone, jazz lyricist, 55; Nicholas Witchell, television journalist, 43.

In Memoriam

HOWARD BAKER (19th October 1923-29th September 1996). Always remembered with love. Who place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4067. Fax 0171 713 4129.

The Venerable David Scott

Towering presence in the east

IT HAS always been a glory of the Church of England that it has contained within its number men (and now women) of a calibre, and with abilities, beyond those obviously demanded by their appointments. Such was David Scott, who has died aged 72, whose long and distinguished ministry in the diocese of Lincoln culminated in 14 years as Archdeacon of Stow.

After a long curacy in Portsmouth (where his occasionally austere demeanour caused his more innocent juniors to dub him "the dry old crust") and a brief period as a member of Gordon Phillips's London University chaplaincy team, Scott moved to the Scunthorpe parish of Old Brumby to begin his ministry there in Lincolnshire. Parochial ministry in Scunthorpe was tough, hard work.

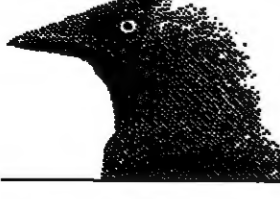
History divorce

First Century. Peter, the first pope, and the apostles that Jesus chose were, for the most part, married men. Second and Third Century. A person cannot be married and be a priest. However, most priests were married. Fourth Century. 325AD - Council of Nicea decreed that after ordination a priest could not marry. Proclaimed the Nicene Creed. 385AD - Pope Siricius left his wife in order to become pope. Devised that priests may no longer sleep with their wives. Fifth Century. 401AD - St Augustine wrote: "Nothing is so powerful in drawing the spirit of a man downward as the crosses of a woman."

Captain's log

IN THE waste compartment, astronauts strap themselves down to the lavatory seat. Instead of water, which would be disastrous in weightlessness, powerful suction pumps pull the waste into a holding tank. But if the seal between the buttocks and the seat isn't snug, gobs of urine and solid wastes will float around the cabin like swarming insects. Indeed both NASA and the Russian Space Agency are still struggling to design an efficient zero-G toilet. Orbiting ships can't afford to store the entire mass of waste from a crew. Vents on the side of the vehicles sprinkle the waste into space, after special shredder and vaporiser systems have rendered it into particles as fine as dust.

Jackdaw



Beauty tips

MODERATOR: Your main interest is illiteracy. You are in the shopping... Contestant: Am I shopping? Moderator: Yes. Contestant: Oh, good! Moderator: A person comes up and asks you to help them fill out a job application. It becomes obvious that they are illiterate. What would you do? Contestant: I would give them a copy of my book on illiteracy and suggest that they read it... Moderator: But, would you help them fill out the application? Contestant: Yes, but I would urge them to take adult education classes.

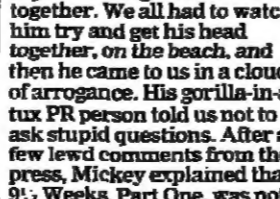
Sick jokes

HILLARY CLINTON VIRUS: Files disappear, only to reappear mysteriously a year later. In another directory. QJ SIMPSON VIRUS: You know it's guilty of trashing your system, but you just can't prove it. POLITICALLY CORRECT VIRUS: Never identifies itself as a "virus," but instead refers to itself as an "electronic micro-organism". ROSS PEROT VIRUS: Activates every component in your system, just before the whole thing quits. GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC VIRUS: Nothing works, but all your diagnostic software says everything is fine. FEDERAL BUREAU OF VIRUS: Divides your hard disk into hundreds of little units, each of which does practically nothing, but all of which claim to be the most important part of your computer. GALLUP VIRUS: 60 per cent of PCs infected will lose 30 per cent of their data 14 per cent of the time (plus or minus a 3.5 per cent margin of error). ADAM AND EVE VIRUS: Takes a couple of bytes out of your Apple. FREUDIAN VIRUS: Your computer becomes obsessed with its own motherboard. ELVIS VIRUS: Your computer gets fat, slow, and lazy, then self-destructs, only to resurface at shopping malls and service stations across rural America. Another offering from the Internet server Misch-Mosh.

High life

WE WERE then all, en masse, transported to the Versace party for food, though no one present had ever eaten anything in their lives. Before I go on, I just want to say I had done a television show at Cannes a year earlier, where I crashed Mickey Rourke's press conference. Mickey made us wait two-and-a-half hours while, as his PR person explained, he got his head together. We all had to watch him try and get his head together, on the beach, and then he came to us in a cloud of arrogance. His gorilla-in-a-tux FR person told us not to ask stupid questions. After a few lewd comments from the press, Mickey explained that 9+ Weeks, Part One, was not about fucking as the press implied, but a "mental thing". Also they weren't sure who the new girl was going to be in part two, so please don't ask. I stood up, introduced myself as Ruby Wax, BBC, volunteered to be the "new girl" and said, even though it was more of a mental thing he was doing, he was fantastic at schtupping. I was thrown out. Now cut to the Versace party and who sits down next to me? Mickey. He introduces the girl beside him as his co-star in 9+ Weeks, Part Two. My life is like a sitcom. Mickey doesn't remember me or anything, so he tells me how much he admires his co-star. I say, if you like her so much, why don't you marry her? And here's where the charm starts. He tells me he would but I have to stick my dick into every woman I meet. Ruby does not wax lyrical on what happens next. From La Wax's reportage of the Paris couture shows for Vogue.

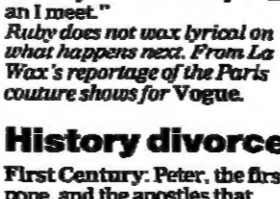
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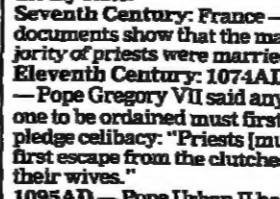
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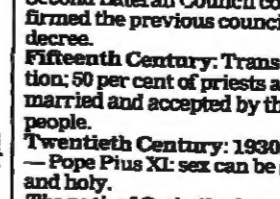
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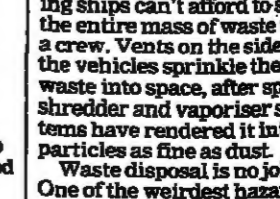
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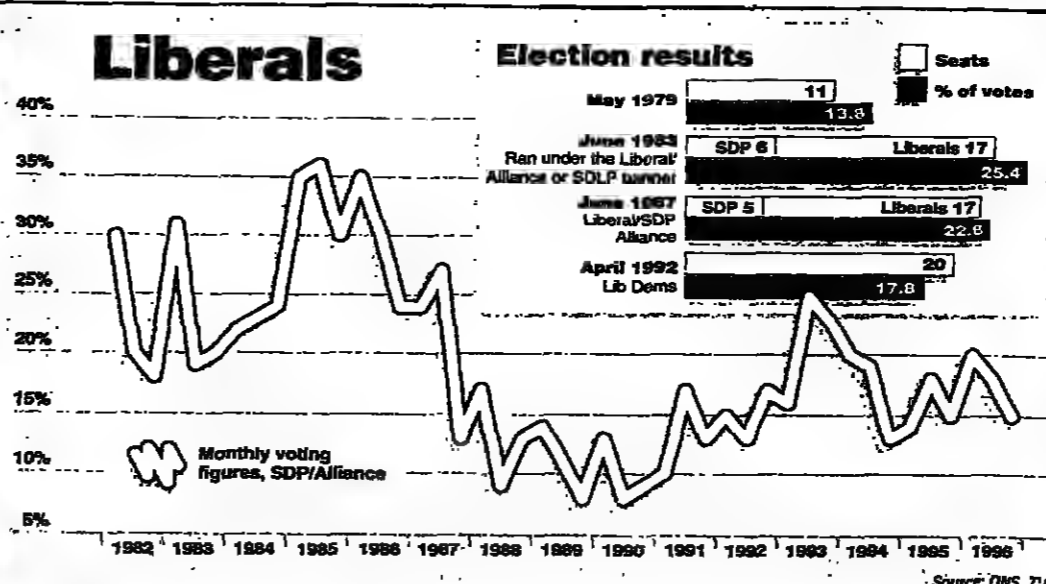
Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including 'ELECTION BA', 'Com on ta', 'Tower', and '32Mb EDC BA'.



1991: David Owen and Shirley Williams at the top of the GDP



1989: David Steel calls as leader



Paddy Ashdown, leading way back from 1989 trough

ELECTION BATTLEGROUND/Sterile debate among Big Two and 'casino policy' jibes may be Lib Dems' best cards

Coming clean on tax rises



Larry Elliott

There was a time when those of us with young children used to tune in to the Today Programme hoping that the politicians would drown out the whining and grizzling, these days, if the squabbling over the Shreddies drowns out the politicians, so much the better.

Paddy Ashdown hopes to capitalise on the fact that voters turn off in their droves at the dread words "tax" and now it's over to Mr Major or Mr Blair/Brown/Heseltine in the radio car. The Liberal Democrat leader believes the electorate has had enough of what he calls a "massive conspiracy by the two main parties to deceive the voters".

To some extent, of course, this is just niche marketing. The Lib Dems have found their part of the political spectrum invaded by the stampede to the centre and Mr Ashdown needs to find a way

of making his product look fresh and different. Nothing so infuriates the two main parties as Mr Ashdown coming on all high and mighty, not least because the experience of many Conservative and Labour activists on the ground is that the dirtiest fighters of all are those wearing Lib Dem rosettes.

The Lib Dems do have an appeal, however, and it is likely to grow if the next seven-and-a-half months are a continuation of the current sterile political debate.

When voters start to take a look at the Lib Dem economic policy, they will find an eclectic mixture, with some ideas to the right of the Conservatives and others well to the left of Labour. Three areas are of particular interest.

The first is tax. Mr Ashdown is prepared to do what Mr Blair will not and pledge that the very rich — the real gainers from the past 18 years — should pay more. A new top rate of 50 per cent would be levied on those earning more than £100,000 a year, raising £1.1 billion which would be used to increase personal allowances. This would remove from tax people at the bottom of the earnings scale, and be both progressive and redistributive.

The other main plank of the policy is the penny on tax — if necessary — to boost spend-

ing on education by £2 billion — an extra £900 million for nursery provision, £200 million for secondary schools, improvements to special-needs teaching and better post-16 training, as well as for every adult to have a period of re-skilling.

Both Tories and Labour say that most voters have yet to work out that it means an extra 1p in the pound on tax rather than just 1p on their tax bills. When they do, it is said, the electorate will look less kindly on it.

Although the headline measures are clear enough, there is a fuzziness about overall fiscal policy: there is talk of reconnecting voters with tax they pay, but a lack of clarity on whether this means hypothecation (specified taxes). The plan to cut public spending to below 40 per cent of GDP looks like a gimmick: an attempt to temper the left-wing appeal of the tax pledge with right-wing rhetoric.

Second, there is the environment, and here the Lib Dems are ahead of the field. At the heart of the party's tax strategy is the welcome realisation that it is madness to tax things that we want more of — jobs — while neglecting to tax things we want less of — pollution.

The idea would be to introduce a carbon tax, with the revenue raised offset by reductions in national insur-



Making choices for the long term... "Our roots are literally in the soil, so we have to think ahead," says farmer John Trickett. PHOTOGRAPH: GUY NEWMAN

ance contributions. Road tax would be abolished and petrol duties raised to hit car usage rather than car ownership.

At least, this is the way it is seen in Westminster. The problem is that the anti-car, pro-public transport greenery at the centre doesn't exactly square with the pro-road, pro-bypass approach being followed by Lib Dems in its South-west stronghold.

The two main parties have not been slow to notice that where the Lib Dems have some influence — as in Newbury — idealism is tempered by political realities.

Finally, there is monetary policy, where the Liberal Democrats favour a New Zealand-style independent central bank as a way of taking the politics out of decisions on interest rates. This policy elides with the approach to Europe, where the Lib Dems have a much clearer idea of what to do about monetary union than either Mr Major or Mr Blair, and collides with the party's long-standing commitment to greater democracy and localised power. What could be more centralised and undemocratic than having the economy run by unelected central bankers?

Radical fruits of Devon's Liberal trade endeavours

Richard Thomas

FROM his building site in the heart of west Devon — where Emma Nicholson MP announced her conversion to the Liberal cause — Eddie Hawkins explains why, as a lifelong socialist, he now votes Liberal Democrat. "To get the bloody Tories out," he says with vigour.

Thirty miles east, on a hill near Tiverton, fruit farmer John Trickett says he has switched from blue to yellow in his once represented by Palmerston, the first Liberal prime minister. "It is about honesty," he says. "We need someone to tell us the truth about the tough choices we have to make. Neither of the other parties is doing it."

These men epitomise the successful capture of the South-west by the Liberal Democrats. Although their strategy has been based on the economic principles, both stress the attractions of the party's long-term policies.

Mr Trickett explains how he is contracted had to make a 10-year bet on his apple trees bearing fruit. "The whole economy needs to be like this," he says. "At the moment, the casino economy is all about making as much as possible as quickly as possible, then shoving it off into offshore tax havens."

Although a tactical voter, Mr Hawkins also likes the Liberal Democrat habit of thinking ahead. His Okehampton firm has not sold a house in 17 months, but he refused to sack a single worker. "That's how you get quality," he insists — and he reckons it works.

from government training schemes. "I simply can't use them," he says.

And he is prepared to pay more tax on his substantial income to fund improvements in schools and colleges? "Oh yes, quite happy," he says. So he really is a socialist.

"One reason progressive-minded voters in the South-west have, since Palmerston's day, been more Liberal than Labour is that farms and firms have been small. There are few big industries to spawn a trade union movement. Independence, in business, politics and religion, is highly prized."

The recovery is coming down the motorway, but it hasn't got here yet!

lah desire to keep it under wraps. Except for Jovial lawyer Mr Burnett, who drives an unmissably purple Mercedes-Benz.

The longer, more considered view typical of Devon's people is also grist to the Liberal mill.

"The idea of an extra penny on the basic rate of income tax to improve education goes down well. Mr Trickett likens such an approach to his business. "Our roots are literally in the soil, so we have to think ahead. Education is about building strong roots for the future," he says.

For hard-headed businessmen, the Liberal Democrat insistence that better public services means paying more plays well. Mr Hawkins is a little scathing about the quality of people

Another Liberal message that sells well in the South-west is the promise of more regional autonomy. Given that a fifth of the Devon and Cornwall economy is based on tourism, the financial denuding of the tourist and development boards excites much anger.

"The message as well cut us off at Bristol and let us float into the sea," says Mr Hawkins. Regional assistance is needed to fuel the recovery. "The recovery is coming down the motorway," says Mr Hawkins. "But it hasn't got here yet."

"One of the ironies of business support for the Liberal Democrats' economic stance is that, in the hands of a Labour politician, much of it would sound dangerously socialist. They promise higher taxation, more regional spending, an end to the utilities' freedom to set regional prices, specific pledges on education spending.

As Mr Trickett says: "It is interventionist, yes. And it is radical. But I think we need some radical action, don't you?"

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Don't wish — you might get it

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

FORGET shadow budgets and programme costings, in this conference season the iron rule holds true — by their beneficiaries shall ye know them. Thus, the class party (bankers, bond market gurus, water and sewage millionaires) faces the group party (administrators, teachers, health inspectors).

But the iron rule wobbles when we are faced with a movement which, having been so long in no position to benefit anyone, has no obvi-

ous beneficiaries. Who are the Liberal Democrats' client groups? There are none — not in this life, anyway. Most factions defend and promote economic interests; identify those interests and you have identified the faction (the iron rule).

When there are no clearly-marked interests, identification relies on the unsatisfactory process of sifting statements made by the party's leaders over the years, a process that, in this case, yields the following proposals: bombing Rhodesia, bonus for the miners, VAT on everything, bombing Yugoslavia. No obvious client-groups there, other than manufacturers of aerial ordnance.

Another line of inquiry may be to try to identify those who would be the client groups were the movement in any position to have clients. This proves far more fruitful, given that millions of trusting people are prepared to believe either that they would benefit come The Day, or that they know other people who would.

Here we are in real heart-of-England territory, market towns that resemble the settings of television's *Wexford* or *Dangerfield*, places where the GP, the auctioneer and the solicitor are to be found in the lounge bar, untangling municipal problems over a pint of the local ale.

In other words, Caster-

bridge, but with its flawed mayor replaced by a jolly Liberal Democrat committed to ending the practice of wife-selling.

Interests that can never be served can never be disappointed. This is particularly fortunate in the Liberal case, because there can be no doubt that the party's full-blown *Europophilia* — most crucially its addiction to the single currency — would wreak such havoc in Casterbridge as to make Michael Henchard's attempts to corner the hay market seem a matter of no importance.

In being denied what they think they want, the electors of Loamshire are luckier than they will ever know.



Down in the mouth and most of the singles... Trish Johnson, left, and Laura Davies, right, wait in vain at the 18th for something to cheer up Europe. The US took the singles 10-2

David Davies at Chepstow sees the United States' single-mindedness retain the Solheim Cup at the double

Europe lost on their own

THE rout that had threatened all week, and had been bravely repulsed, duly came about yesterday and Europe were swamped by the United States in the final series of singles in the Solheim Cup here at St Pierre.

Some 15,000 people had been attracted to this lovely little corner of Monmouthshire by the prospect of Europe's two-point overnight lead being turned into a memorable victory over the Americans. Instead, in a silence that was often profound and embarrassing, Europe won but a solitary singles match, halved two more and lost the remaining nine.

The final scoreline was 17-11, the six-point losing margin being the same as it had been at The Greenbrier two years ago. And, if ever one series of matches showed that a contest was truly a no-contest, it was yesterday's singles.

When Annika Sorenstam, the home side's best player, won her match at the top of the order at 12 o'clock it was already High Noon for Europe. The rest of the scoreboard showed that the US led in eight of the other 11 matches and were all square in the remainder.

The American scores were recorded in red and that was

about being able to find "12 great players" for Europe, but though there are undoubtedly some — say three — "great" players in Europe, there are not 12 and probably never will be. The men have not got 12 and they have been searching for longer.

After the matches a lot of nonsense was talked, mostly by the European captain Mickey Walker, who said: "The event itself has been a wonderful success." It may

This kind of claptrap becomes dangerous when it is realised that, if Europe continue to lose, it will take only two or three more matches before everyone loses interest and a potentially magnificent event will be downgraded or even lost

Yesterday's golf was deeply depressing to European eyes. Sorenstam won well, Kathryn Marshall was unlucky to be two under par and still lose to Val Skinner, and Alison Nicholas was one under when she halved with Kelly Robbins.

Walker went on to say she considered the expanded format, which gives a total of 26 points rather than 20 to be played for, a good thing. How she arrives at this conclusion defies logic, for the fact of more points gives the stronger team the better chance, and the stronger team are the

Laura Davies, with not a single birdie, was two over against Michelle McGinn, who also beat her in a play-off for the State Farm Rail Classic this month.

Lisa Hackney was level but lost on the last; Dale Reid was one over, Helen Alfredsson and Lotte Neumann two over, Marie-Laure de Lorenzi and Catrin Nilsmark three over, Joanne Morley four over and Trish Johnson five over — all this on a relatively easy course. It was not nearly good enough.

Thankfully this never became a confrontational cup, as some events at The Greenbrier two years ago had indicated it might. Some of the credit for this can be taken by the informal choir, the St Pierre Spontaneous Orpheus, that sprang up in the stand behind the 1st tee, orchestrated by the former Tour player Jane Connellan.

They had a song for every player and for all occasions: the Swedes got something from Abba, for instance, and there was a wordless version of the Marseillaise for De Lorenzi. Even a passing Radio Five Live commentator, Maurice Madill, was serenaded with When Irish Eyes are Smiling, and perhaps the best of the lot was when Walker appeared with an eye-patch covering adverse reaction to a wasp-sting. "Da-dee-da-da-

da-dee-da," they sang, in a very presentable version of the theme music from The Sting.

It was infectious good humour, the songs were stifled in good time before the players' tees off and they helped create a wonderful atmosphere. Unfortunately, yesterday's began and ended on the 1st tee.

At 1am, in St Pierre's tiny church at the back of the regular 18th green, Nicholas read the lesson for the early-morning service. It was from 1 Corinthians 9, verses 24-25, and read, partly, "Know ye not that they which run in a race, all but one receive the prize? So run that ye may obtain." But races inevitably go to the swift and yesterday the Americans were much the faster.



Hands-on... the US take the cup 17-11

Pass master Villeneuve hounds Hill

Hill in the Portuguese Grand Prix ended with a brilliant success for his Williams team-mate, who can still take the title in the final race in Japan on October 13.

At one point Hill was 19sec ahead of his team-mate but a combination of traffic, a lacklustre performance by the Englishman in the second stint between pit stops and Villeneuve's sheer flair brought the Canadian right up on his tail with 30 laps to run.

"I was enjoying my time out there at the front," said Hill, "but I always knew that Jacques would be able to get through [to second place] ahead of [Jean] Alesi. He closed up on me pretty quickly so I thought, okay, let's see what he can do, and I put the hammer down a bit and pulled away."

"I thought I would have a sufficient advantage to stay ahead of him through the last pit stop, but I lost a bit of time behind a McLaren coming round the last corner and was very surprised to see him coming out of the pits ahead of me. I was pretty shocked. He was flying and there was no way I could stay with him at the end."

Villeneuve said: "My car today was very, very strong and I was able to race it very hard. I knew that once I got ahead, if I didn't make a mistake or get involved in traffic at the wrong spot we would finish in front."

In the end Hill was 20sec adrift. Schumacher, who was highly impressed by Villeneuve's audacity, finished third ahead of Alesi's Benetton, Eddie Irvine's Ferrari and Gerhard Berger's Benetton, with Johnny Herbert's Sauber eighth and Martin Brundle's Jordan ninth.

As he passed the pits Hill suddenly swung to the right, off the racing line, forcing Alesi towards the pit wall. On the face of it this was a piece of calculated blocking of the kind Senna introduced to Formula One and such as Schumacher may have used to deprive Hill of the title at Suzuka two years ago.

"I never ever saw Alesi," Hill said afterwards, with a somewhat disingenuous air. "I was looking where I was going. I was keeping my eyes on the road ahead. You've got your hands full at the start, I can tell you."

Alesi had a very different view. "Everybody is fighting for a place," he said. "In Damon's case it's to win the world championship. In my case it's to finish in third place in the championship. And I don't think it's correct to use the pressure of winning a race or whatever to block someone, specially at the start, where it's the most dangerous moment for a grand prix."

Hill gave a light-hearted response when confronted during practice here with the suggestion that all he had to do to win the title was nudge Villeneuve off the track, as

Hill still needs to make a point

Now the rumour mill can return to grinding gears about Hill's team destination next season. His manager Michael Eason was kept busy in the paddock, talking principally to Eddie Jordan and Jackie Stewart, but it is unlikely that any deal will be concluded before it is known whether or not Hill can call himself the 1996 world champion.

"I haven't been involved with the negotiations this weekend," Hill said. "I've been concentrating on the race. Now I'll have to speak to Michael Eason and get him to tell me what's been going on."

What is almost certainly not going on is a rumoured move by Renault to maintain their link with Hill by keeping him at the team. Renault will withdraw from Formula One at the end of next season and such a move would make no commercial or technical sense.

As he was leaving the course and was taken to hospital with a suspected broken right ankle. It turned out to be only badly bruised and the Australian hopes to play in the European Open in Dublin next week.

Faldo, who began the day seven behind, was cooked by the turn, already two over par. He finished with a 77 and tied for 37th place.

Byrd knew by the middle of the inward nine that he had only Van de Velde to beat, and successive birdies at the 13th and 14th suddenly gave him a three-shot cushion.

He was able to coast in from there although he confessed to never having felt so nervous in his life as he did walking the last four holes. He was assisted by a good-luck message from Brian Laudrup, the Rangers winger, who lives three miles from the course.

Bjorn is bonny banker in his rookie year on tour

Patrick Glenn at Loch Lomond

THERE was a bundle to be made for any reader of signs who could have worked out that the inaugural Loch Lomond World Invitational would be won by a man from his first tournament in his rookie year on the European Tour.

Thomas Bjorn, a long-hitting 25-year-old from Denmark, held off some fancy names on the bonny banks yesterday to pocket the £125,000 first prize.

Having been quoted at around 150-1 on Thursday, Bjorn brought the kind of romance to the 72nd green that galleries love. He missed a high putt but, with a stroke in hand, tapped in to secure victory.

This performance lifted him from 59th to 15th in the Order of Merit and he is now only £13,000 behind

Scotland's Raymond Russell in the Bokie of the Year contest. This was his fourth top-10 finish and he has amassed just over £224,000. He has also put himself into early contention for a place in the Ryder Cup exactly a year from now.

Bjorn, who began the day level with his playing partner Jean Van de Velde of France, included three birdies and two bogeys in his final-day 70, his fourth

sub-par round of the week. The expected charge from Colin Montgomerie, Robert Allenby and Nick Faldo did not materialise on a grey but windless day.

Montgomerie and Allenby, playing together in the second-to-last match, both shot 70. Allenby finished third, four strokes off the winner, with the big Scot another shot away along with England's Jonathan Lomas.

Allenby tripped in a rut

as he was leaving the course and was taken to hospital with a suspected broken right ankle. It turned out to be only badly bruised and the Australian hopes to play in the European Open in Dublin next week.

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Rugby League

Armed guard for Lions after riot

Andy Wilson in Lae

PAPUA New Guinea is the only country in the world with rugby league as its national game but yesterday's events in Port Moresby and Lae did little to enhance its reputation with the Great Britain tourists.

They were kept in the airport at Port Moresby, the capital, for five hours waiting for a connecting flight north to Lae, taking their total journey time since leaving Manchester on Friday morning to almost 50 hours.

Then they arrived in Lae to the news that the National Inter-City Cup final there had been abandoned after 60 minutes because of serious crowd rioting. Police used teargas at the ground where Great Britain will play the Kumuls in a one-off Test on Saturday before moving on to Fiji and New Zealand.

Local journalists at the final claimed that two men had been shot, one of them killed. When the Lions party checked into their hotel they were told to stay there with an armed guard until further notice, jeopardising a training session today.

"It is obviously unsettling," said Phil Larder, the increasingly beleaguered British coach. "But I have spoken to the chief of police and also to the PNG coach [Bob Bennett, who is also a policeman, and they have assured me that the

trouble was caused by local rivalry so it should not affect us. But we have a very young squad and I will be speaking to them about the situation."

The Lions had already been depleted by the withdrawal of most of their first-choice back line, many of them staying in England to play rugby union, and Bobbie Goulding heads a list of four players carrying injuries which make them doubtful for both Wednesday's provincial game at Mount Hagen and the Test on Saturday.

Goulding has a knee problem and his St Helens team-mate Chris Joynt is recovering from minor knee surgery, Bradford Bulls' utility forward Bernard Dwyer has badly blistered feet and Workington's Welsh prop Rowland Phillips has a groin strain.

Larder had planned a training session in the heat and humidity of Lae as soon as the team arrived but the delay in Port Moresby has left him with only two days to prepare for the game at Mount Hagen, a further short flight away into the Highlands.

Bennett, whose brother Wayne is established as one of the world's leading tacticians after his work for Canberra, Brisbane and Queensland, has no such problems; in fact he was given a major fillip with the news that the Kumuls captain Adrian Lam has been cleared to play by the Australian Rugby League.

Hockey

Smith starts at the double

Pat Rowley

JANE SMITH, the England international, had a fine debut for Slough on the opening day of the Women's National League, scoring twice in the first seven minutes against Leicester at Wexham yesterday to lead her new club to a 3-0 win.

Smith scored with a direct strike at Slough's somewhat fortunate first corner, and soon afterwards slid the ball under Aileen Claxton, the former England goalkeeper, from Kate White's pass.

The tall athletic striker then had the opportunity to complete her hat-trick but took advantage of the new no-offside rule and unselfishly fed the better placed Mandy Nicholls, who scored.

Slough continued to dominate the game but wasted chances and lost some of their

cohesion as their new coach John Shaw, the Olympic forward, took the opportunity to give all his players pitch time. The champions Hightown, with a penalty by Linda Carr and a gift chance taken by the Wales winger Yana Williams, won 2-1 at Clifton but could thank Carolyn Reid, their goalkeeper, for keeping them in the game in the first half.

The cup holders Ipswich failed to take their chances in a goalless first half at home to Sutton and had to be content with a 2-2 draw. Bantfield and Rawlins scored for Ipswich in the second half, while the daughter of the former England international Val Lee, Lisa.

In the other Premier Division match a controversial late penalty, impressively converted by Claire Ferguson, brought Doncaster a 2-1 home win over the promoted Trojans, who deserved better

The day's outstanding performance came from Olton on their First Division debut. With the former British captain Barbara Hamby dominant in midfield, their young side played aggressively, as dictated by the international coach Gavin Featherstone, and beat Bluebirds 7-1. Their biggest disappointment was to manage only three goals from 22 penalty corners.

It was a good day, too, for the league's newcomers. Lynn Goodnow's two goals brought Loughborough a 2-1 win over Exmouth, and Ann Glover brought West Witney a 1-0 win with a first-half goal at St Albans.

Another remarkable National League debut came from Jeremy Boyse, brother of the internationalist Adrian. He scored four on Saturday as the men's First Division newcomers Lewes trounced Bromley 9-2.

Basketball

No panic at Palace

Rob Dugdale

LIFE in the Budweiser Premier League has not been easy for the newly promoted Crystal Palace. They may bear the most famous name in British basketball but that counts for little when the first three games have been lost.

"We're very close to winning a game," says Alton Byrd, Palace's coach and general manager. "I told people that it was going to be painful and that, if we nicked a game or two early on, it would be a bonus."

Byrd, the best playmaker the British game has seen, was still playing last season when his team easily won Division One. He is not tempted to reverse his decision to retire from playing. "We'd have three wins if I'd decided to play from day one

but I'm not even close to suiting up," he says. "I wouldn't play just to win another championship. I've enough silverware gathering dust."

Palace showed further big-league teething problems against Leicesters this weekend, losing by two points with four minutes remaining, then four points with 2½ minutes left on the clock, they panicked and lost 79-65, although missing 13 free-throws did not help.

Palace are a good benchmark for the new league regulations that allow more work-permit players on each team this season, the best English players having been lost as a result of the Bosman ruling. Byrd has added a couple of Canadians to the largely English line-up that clinched promotion.

"Talent-wise I'm looking at the sides we've played so far and we're just as good," says

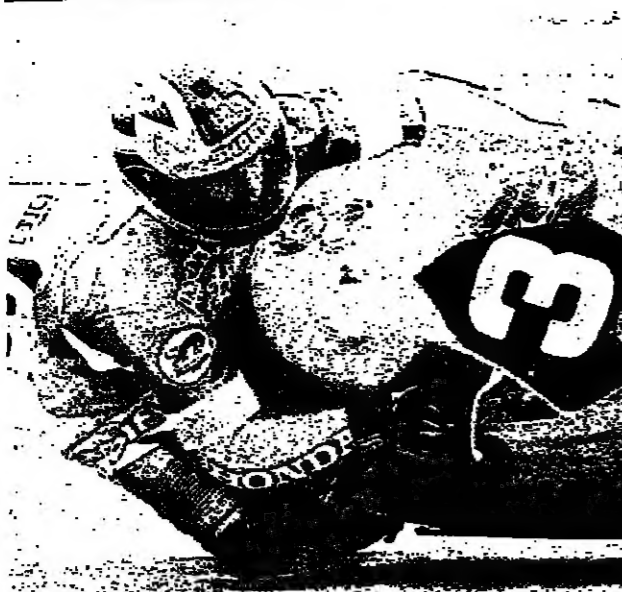
Byrd, suggesting that his team are proving the new Americans in the league may not be making the impact that was expected.

Nothing would tempt Byrd to sign more foreigners. "I don't see the purpose of it. Short term, the league had to take action," he says. "But we're looking three years ahead when we want to be playing in Europe, where the rule is fewer foreigners."

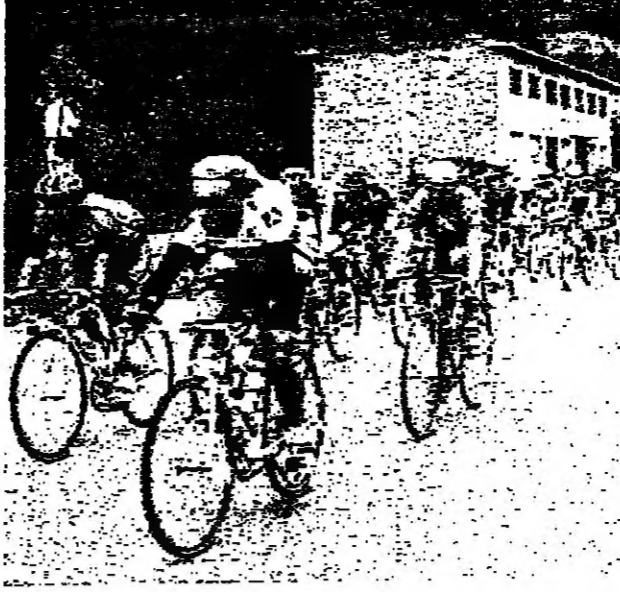
The new rules have benefited teams that have historically recruited well. Derby Storm, whose coach Jeff Jones brought in some of the more talented Americans of recent years, went top of the table when a 110-104 win over Hemel and Watford brought them a third success in four starts.

Sheffield, champions two seasons ago, handed Birmingham their second overtime defeat of the season, 92-85.

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Restricted vision... for William Costes, the Bol d'Or winner at Le Castellet, for Europe's Solheim Cup captain Mickey Walker, stung by a wasp at Chipstead, and for the Cabarceno newly-weds, whose reception had to wait for the Tour de Spain to pass



Restricted vision... for William Costes, the Bol d'Or winner at Le Castellet, for Europe's Solheim Cup captain Mickey Walker, stung by a wasp at Chipstead, and for the Cabarceno newly-weds, whose reception had to wait for the Tour de Spain to pass

Weekend results

Soccer

FA CUP

FA CUP PREMIERSHIP
Aston Villa 1-0 Man Utd
Aston Villa 1-0 Man Utd
Aston Villa 1-0 Man Utd

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE

First Division

Table with columns for team names and statistics (W, D, L, P, A, Pts) for the First Division.

Second Division

Table with columns for team names and statistics (W, D, L, P, A, Pts) for the Second Division.

Third Division

Table with columns for team names and statistics (W, D, L, P, A, Pts) for the Third Division.

Fourth Division

Table with columns for team names and statistics (W, D, L, P, A, Pts) for the Fourth Division.

Non-League

Table with columns for team names and statistics (W, D, L, P, A, Pts) for Non-League.

Rugby Union

Table with columns for team names and statistics (W, D, L, P, A, Pts) for Rugby Union.

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UNIBOND LEAGUE

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UNIBOND LEAGUE

Large vertical advertisement on the right side of the page, featuring the name 'Francis' and 'his ske staff ra' in a stylized font, along with other text and graphics.

Bottom section of the page containing various sports news items, including 'Rugby Union', 'Tennis', 'Chess', 'Ice Hockey', 'Motor Racing', 'Cycling', 'Basketball', 'Baseball', and 'Fixtures'.

SOCCER

Wenger pays Arsenal flying visit

Highbury's new man is not yet here to stay but thought he should be on hand for the Uefa Cup trip to Germany. Martin Thorpe reports

HE HAD been at Highbury in spirit almost as long as Herbert Chapman, but Arsenal finally welcomed the body of Arsene Wenger yesterday, a long, lean shape that marched confidently through the door of a hastily arranged press conference to ask: "Crisis, what crisis?"

Wenger was talking about. "I had the feeling there was a big crisis here," he said. "But every time I had contact with the board they looked very strong and determined and the players appear to have been very positive too. The crisis has been around the club but never inside the club."

meeting the press. Wenger is cool, calm and authoritatively impressive, a man with an economics degree applying that brain to football. "The main reason for coming is that I love English football; the roots of the game are here," he says. "I like the spirit around the game and at Arsenal and I like the club's potential. For my career it can be a further step for my personal development."

worked for three years in Japan in a different culture where my challenge was to create something from nothing. To go to another country where football is of the highest level is a big challenge. He will actually leave the Japanese club Grampus 8 and take over at Arsenal next Monday on a three-year deal worth around £1.5 million. But he decided on a flying visit to London when Stewart Houston resigned as caretaker manager; he arrived at 8.30 yesterday morning after leaving home on Friday, watching Grampus 8 win on Saturday, then flying via Paris to London. "I worked successfully in France for 10 years; I have

club needed me, and I wanted to be here," he said, specifically referring to the team's task in trying to overcome a 3-2 deficit in Wednesday's away Uefa Cup first-round, second-leg tie against Borussia Mönchengladbach. "The first game wasn't so good, with us losing at home, but I deeply believe we can reverse the game in Germany," he said. He will meet the players today at training, then join the team for the Borussia game, fly back to oversee his final Grampus 8 match on Saturday and return to London permanently. He has already appointed the current caretaker manager Pat Rice as his No. 2

and will let the Irishman take charge in Germany. He says he is in no hurry to buy players, but had one or two in mind for the future. He denied interest in Stefan Edberg, Matthias Sammer and the Brazilian Leonardo, with whom Arsenal have been linked, and appeared cool on his former protégé George Weah. He also confirmed that in July he had turned down an offer to be the Football Association's technical director because he did not want to be desk-bound. Arsenal had approached him in the first week of August but he could not accept the job until Grampus 8 found a replacement.



Wenger... 'crisis around the club but never inside'

Middlesbrough 0 Arsenal 2 Gallant Adams raises spirits

Michael Walker

ABOUT 15 frenetic minutes of this frantic confrontation had elapsed when yet another Arsenal player hit the deck requiring treatment. Off the bench once again came the substitutes, Tony Adams among them. As they stretched and strained their way along the touchline, the noisy Arsenal contingent spontaneously burst into "One Tony Adams, there's only one Tony Adams". Middlesbrough's already incensed followers, now with their anger on, were bound to respond and it was no surprise to hear a lone voice reply: "One triple vodka, there's only one triple vodka."

It was a further 15 minutes before Adams was able to retaliate but when he did appear on the pitch he gave the impression of a man in rude health both physically and mentally. His commitment to Arsenal has never been questioned but there was a confidence to his performance that was positively articulate in comparison with the incoherent mumbling of Middlesbrough's "defenders".

One man this did not shock was Pat Rice, Arsenal's second caretaker manager of the month. "Tony was bursting to get on," said Rice. "He was like a stallion caged. I never thought about not bringing him on; he typifies everything that's good at the club." Of his player's emotional state after the game, Rice said: "Tony's fine, Tony's bubbling. Tony's well. Tony's Tony." Rice then emphatically denied that Tony would shortly depart Highbury for Leeds. "No chance, not even for George [Graham], not even for one. Tony Adams is not leaving Arsenal." There was only one more question on the Adams situation and Rice answered that drily too: "Tony's not drinking no more."

That left Rice free to comment on the match and the future. Although he could not talk with certainty about his own position, he hoped that Arsene Wenger's arrival would signal "the dawning of a new era". Of the 10 minutes he had just witnessed, Rice's most pertinent observation was that "good defending is an art". On this evidence, Bryan Robson should call the painters in. He recognised the defensive deficiencies of his back five that contributed to Arsenal's goals and realised that he could have been significantly worse. Arsenal's first saw Dixon's simplest of crossfield balls bypass the whole defence, letting Hartson lob the exposed Miller. The second followed an embarrassing stumble by Vickers that gave Wright time and space calmly to score his 101st League goal for Arsenal. Merson then hit the bar on half-time and missed a sitter 10 minutes from the end after another mistake by Whelan.

There were other chances but Middlesbrough also had a couple. Juninho, looking totally acclimatised, worked constantly and Ravanelli hit the woodwork twice. The Italian has an aerial gift after noon but can console himself with the knowledge that the "peace, solitude and sanity" he says he has found in the Cleveland Hills would not have been on offer at Highbury this season.

English eyes on Klinsmann

ENGLISH clubs will be alerted by news that Jürgen Klinsmann has a clause in his contract allowing him to leave Bayern Munich on a free transfer at the end of the season. Everton and Blackburn have both been linked with the former Tottenham striker. Southampton's hopes of signing the Portuguese striker Paolo Alves in time for tonight's Premiership game at Wimbledon have hit a snag after Sporting Lisbon suddenly asked for more money. Terry Venables's business associate Eddie Ashby has been banned by the High Court from becoming a company director for nine years. It follows an investigation into a clothes company, quarter-owned by Ashby, which went into receivership owing £1 million. Ashby appears at London's Knightsbridge Crown Court on October 28 charged with taking part in the running of Tottenham Hotspur while an undischarged bankrupt.

Tottenham Hotspur 1, Leicester City 2

Francis and his skeleton staff rattled

David Lacey

THE presence of a Fox in the opposition clearly aroused Leicester City's hunting instincts at White Hart Lane yesterday. Tottenham's present failings were frequently exploited as Martin O'Neill's team achieved their second victory since returning to the Premiership and their first away from home.

The performance should do as much for Leicester's confidence as the result, especially as they were forced, in effect, to win the match twice. Steve Claridge put them ahead after 21 minutes, a lead they held until the interval, but they then missed a penalty and conceded one within a short space of time around the hour.

Clive Wilson brought the scores level with Tottenham's penalty, after which Leicester's American goalkeeper Casey Keller defied Spurs with a series of outstanding saves. When Emile Heskey hit a post Leicester seemed destined for a draw, but with five minutes remaining Ian Marshall's header brought them a victory they roundly deserved.

Marshall had replaced Claridge, injured in giving Leicester the lead. Signed from Ipswich last month for £800,000, the Liverpool-bound striker bargained at today's prices. Spurs are in a mess. They have not won at White Hart Lane since the end of March and this was their second consecutive home defeat. Injuries have deprived them of Mabbutt, Sheringham, Armstrong

and Austin and yesterday they were a team of disparate parts.

Leicester, on the other hand, remained a compact unit almost throughout. Playing three at the back with five in midfield, they broke quickly and powerfully through Heskey, a broad-shouldered and athletic 18-year-old with good control and vision.

The essence of Leicester's superiority, however, lay in the strength and balance of their midfield. With Grayson and Lewis giving the team a mixture of attacking width and defensive nous, Lennon and Lissett winning possession tenaciously and Taylor finding shrewd angles with his runs and passes, they dominated much of the game between the penalty areas.

Just when Spurs thought they were establishing some sort of parity in midfield, O'Neill brought on Garry Parker to bring an air of calm to increasingly frantic proceedings. Even Darren Anderton could not provide a similarly soothing presence for Tottenham. Yesterday Anderton looked like a player awaiting another groin operation. Gifted footballer though he is, the England man is beginning to resemble a tennis racket urgently in need of a restring.

Gerry Francis, the Tottenham manager, is so short of strikers that yesterday he played Sol Campbell up front alongside the inexperienced Rory Allen. Campbell's height gave a brief thrust to Leicester's defence early on, but by the time Claridge lunged past Wilson at the far post to force in Heskey's low centre the



Anderton angst... the Spurs forward, thwarted here by Leicester's Taylor, looked listless and less than fully fit yesterday

match was slipping out of Spurs' control. For the second half Francis decided to mirror Leicester's approach by bringing on Sinton, a left-winger for Edinburgh, who had damaged a hamstring, and playing three at the back. A courageous move, but it nearly led to a second goal for Leicester in

the 88th minute when Lewis's crossfield ball found Heskey completely unmarked on the right. He dragged his shot wide. A minute earlier, Nethercott having brought down Heskey, Walker had saved Walsh's poorly struck penalty to keep Tottenham in the contest. Three minutes past the

hour the cost of both misses appeared to escalate when Prior pulled Campbell away from Anderton's centre and Wilson's penalty broke no argument. Keller then kept out shots from Fox, Nielsen and, late in the game, Anderton as Tottenham sought an unlikely win. And when Heskey's shot took

a slight deflection off Wilson before hitting the foot of the near post in the 78th minute, it seemed equally unlikely that Spurs would lose. But lose they did, and to the simplest of goals. Parker's corner from the right floated away from Walker and Marshall was unmarked as he rose to head the ball

firmly into the net. "Had we not won I would have committed suicide," said O'Neill. As it is, Francis is better advised to stay away from tall buildings just now. "No one listens to my back stories," he said. "People are only interested in results but we are operating with a skeleton staff at the moment."

Leeds United 0, Newcastle United 1

Lessons from new testament

Martin Thorpe

FITTINGLY for clubs where football is something of a religion, Leeds United and Newcastle United have been converted. The haloed balls of Eiland Road already echo to the lesson according to George Keegan while flamboyance's greatest evangelist Kevin Keegan has finally seen the light and embraced the devil doggedness.

The only characteristics which differentiated Leeds from the Arsenal of old on Saturday were the all-white strip and the fact that they lost. Otherwise there was, like a Highbury memory, the commitment, compact formation, bodies behind the ball,

long early ball forward, threat from set pieces and niggly intent. As for Newcastle, remember Keegan's defiant boast after last season's glorious failure? "The only thing we won't ever get rid of is the style of play. As long as I'm here we'll score goals and let them in."

Well, Keegan has spent the summer like a politician quietly ignoring the party manifesto. "There's a doggedness about us now and I welcome it," he said. "All fair and no doggedness won't win anything, as we found last year."

Doggedness having changed their spots, Newcastle have won three of four

away games and sit second in the Premiership. Saturday's victory was helped by the 39th-minute dismissal of the Leeds defender Carlton Palmer for two dubious tackles from behind. But Newcastle just about deserved their victory by keeping things tight - or as tight as one can when Asprilla is in the side - and battling hard when the 10 men, as ever, proved harder to handle than 11.

Leeds's display spoke much for the willing legs and dedicated spirit of a side sprinkled with youngsters because of injuries to Yeboah, Dorigo, Bowyer, Pemberton and Deane. But two league defeats sandwiching a home cup

draw with Darlington is not the return to the game Graham envisaged, and the team's results, like the new manager's image, may take time to turn around.

With the squad containing a few too many unsolicited gifts for even Graham's liking, a foray or two into the transfer market will be a priority. Graham dismissed reports linking him with Tony Adams but admitted he was looking at new players. "No, I won't say who they are," he replied predictably.

The impressive Sharpe produced Leeds's best chance after seven minutes when his shot was saved by Srinke's legs. But slowly Newcastle turned the screw and scored



Graham... preaching

the winner through Shearer, his fourth goal of the season but first from open play. Leeds rallied and for 20 second-half minutes dominated a game which never really came afoot, going closest at corners. But Newcastle held on. A novelty indeed.

Sheffield Wednesday 0, Derby County 0

Jim and David grin and bear it

David Hopps

DAVID FLEAT and Jim Smith, the respective managers of Sheffield Wednesday and Derby County, would make a good double act. Fleat acts like a marketing executive, forever striving for an advantageous interpretation: Smith plays the gritty Les Dawson type who tells it like it is.

I say, I say, I say. What about this referee, boys? Nine bookings. Wasn't he an absolute bouncer?

half an hour, was Wednesday's attacking highlight. Their slide into mid-table seems well under way.

"If you like tackles, this was the game of the season," claimed Fleat, which was a bit like saying Saudi Arabia is one heck of a seaside resort if you like sand. One looked in vain for Smith to add another punchline, only to discover that he was staring dolefully into his pint, doubtless recalling the chances Derby had missed.

Gabbiadini, an idiosyncratic striker for once playing an admirable team game, excelled when his lay-off almost set up Struridge just before half-time. It almost atoned for his blatant late arrival, 30 seconds when, alone inside the six-yard area, he headed Chris Powell's left-wing cross too high.

Derby, well served by Powell's composure at wing back, were increasingly dangerous on the break, no more so than seven minutes from time when Laursen cleverly delayed his cross from the right but Dailly's cumbersome shot failed to extend Pressman.

In his frustration, Dailly hacked at the goalkeeper and invited a contretemps with Trustfull, during which Mr Barber seemed to be barged as he intervened. Presumably confused, he allowed Trustfull to go unpunished and, along with Dailly, booked another Derby player, Ward, who was trying to act as peacemaker.

Sunderland 1, Coventry City 0

Roker roar as muted as Big Ron's latest explanations

George Castillon

RON ATKINSON could never be described as ashen-faced - his year-round tan precludes that - but after seeing his side's recent mini-revival shudder to a halt the Coventry manager's faltered powers of explanation seemed to have waned.

Whatever happened to the infamous "Early days"? All a terse Big Ron could muster was a self-evident "I'm annoyed." The uninformed would have found it difficult to tell Atkinson apart from his Sunderland counterpart Peter Reid, never the most loquacious of speakers. Reid's gratification at picking up

three home points for the first time since April was tempered by the grim news that the club's record signing Niall Quinn had suffered a knee ligament injury.

Another day, another dismal slice of fortune for forwards at Roker Park, which is beginning to threaten Old Trafford as a home strikers' graveyard. Not since a young Marco Gabbiadini muscled his way towards goal, six years ago, has a Sunderland player managed to score 20 times in a season.

Of the latest crop, Phil Gray is in France, Brett Angell is in Stockport, David Kelly is out of favour and now Quinn looks likely to spend a long time in the treatment room. Yet it was Quinn's departure

which did most to elevate the match above the mundane, a standard underscored by the chorus of jeers that followed the players into the tunnel at half-time.

Reid preferred to pick out the tireless contribution of Paul Stewart for praise, but it was the substitute Craig Russell's turn of pace and unselfish willingness to move wide which justly punished Coventry's negativity.

Russell's deep cross was met by the chest of Steve Agnew, whose left-foot finish was as sweet as his overall display was inconsistent.

Even the traditionalists among Saturday's crowd must be counting the days until the beginning of next season, when the club will

leave their home of almost a century for a new 40,000 all-seater stadium. Come the days when the Roker roar could batter the opposition into submission, and that, combined with Reid's pragmatic style - "I'd rather have a 0-0 draw than get beaten 4-3, that's my philosophy" - has added a certain inevitability to an already vicious circle.

Impatience from the fans leads to tension in the players leads to more impatience from the fans. Even Agnew admitted that, for Sunderland, playing in front of their own supporters can be "a test of character": a quality that Atkinson's Coventry team has in dangerously short supply.

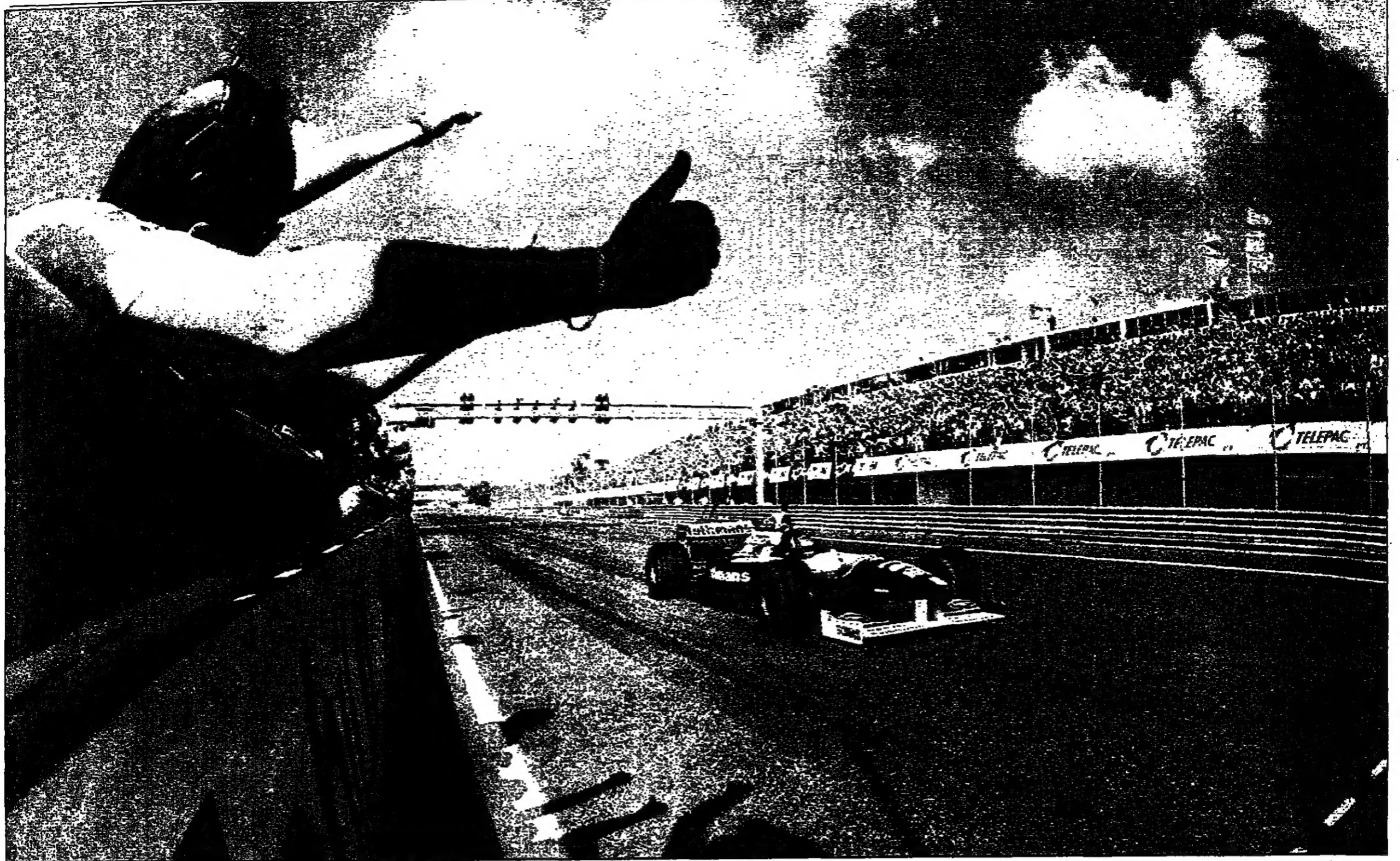
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5TH OCTOBER CHANGE THE O CHANGE THE THEN

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Wenger finally gets his hands on Arsenal
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Solheim team shot down in flames
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Cliff-hanger finish... Villeneuve wins the Portuguese Grand Prix to deny his Williams team-mate the world drivers' championship three weeks early and maintain his own chance of taking the title

PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN MARRIS

Hill left needing to make his point

Richard Williams sees Villeneuve win in Estoril and take the world championship battle to the final race

DAMON HILL'S long quest for the Formula One world championship will go down to the wire but at least the odds keep improving. By finishing second to his Williams team-mate and title challenger Jacques Villeneuve in the Portuguese Grand Prix here yesterday he ensured that he needs only a single point from the final race of the season, at Suzuka in three weeks' time.

One point is the margin by which Hill lost the championship to Michael Schumacher at Suzuka two years ago but the odds are better this time, despite yesterday's failure. Hill's Williams-Renault led the race for 50 laps, with Villeneuve in close attendance, but sick work by the French-Canadian and his crew enabled him to take the

lead during the third round of pit stops. He pulled away from Hill and with 16 laps to go the Englishman was warned of a clutch malfunction by his engineers and slowed up to preserve his second place. Schumacher finished third in his Ferrari, ahead of Jean Alesi's Benetton-Renault.

By taking the winner's 10 points to Hill's six, Villeneuve ensured that he had done just enough to keep the championship alive into the 18th and last round. He needed a four-point differential and he got it with a drive of impressive power and purpose. Now he has cut the margin to nine points, which keeps Hill just within range. Villeneuve will need not only to win the Japanese Grand Prix but to see Hill finish lower than sixth. If Villeneuve wins and Hill takes the single point available for

sixth place, they will be level on 88 points. In that case Hill will take the title by virtue of having won seven races this season to Villeneuve's five.

The supremacy of the two Williams-Renault cars was clear from start to finish of yesterday's race, as it has been since Hill began the season with three wins in a row, a sequence eventually broken by Villeneuve's debut victory. The pair have now won 11 of the season's 15 races between them, and Estoril saw a fight between equals until the clutch problem slowed the championship leader.

Hill was generous in defeat. "Jacques was flying," he said. "He drove a great race today. To come from fourth after the start to win the race is no mean feat around here. There was no way I could stay with him. And then I got a warning about the clutch problems and I had to back off. I'd felt a

couple of bad gear-shifts. The pit didn't tell me to slow down but the alarm bells started ringing. You can imagine that I didn't want a mechanical failure on the car at that stage of the race."

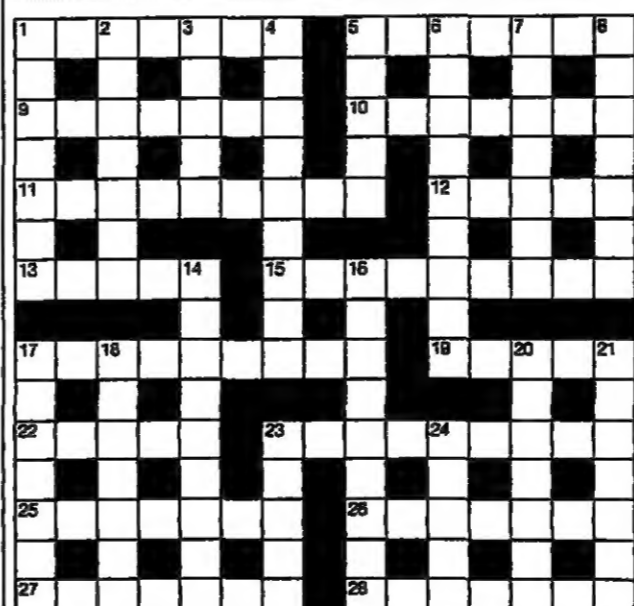
He is becoming accustomed to the frustration. "Of course, before the race I couldn't help but think that I was within an hour and 45 minutes perhaps of becoming world champion. Now I'll have to wait until Suzuka to find out if it's going to happen. But I've waited all season. Longer than that, actually. So I can bear to wait the last three weeks. I'm looking forward to Suzuka. It should be very exciting."

The tension inherent in Hill's predicament was apparent in his behaviour at the start of the race. He got away well from pole position, on the left of the track, while Villeneuve spun his wheels. But Alesi, as he had done at Monza a fortnight ago, took off even better and came down the right-hand side, drawing alongside Hill.

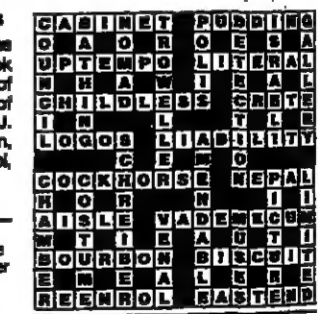
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Guardian Crossword No 20,765

Set by Crispa



WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 20,758
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are Mr. G. C. Cook of Chigwell, Essex, M. E. Bessley of Penzance, Cornwall, Ann Jay of Penrincw, Penrincw, Dyfed, Mrs. J. Eastaugh of Camp Hill, Northampton, and Mrs. Janet Bruce of Hertlepool, Cleveland.



- Across**
- 1 Exercising care, copper's content, and the man's charged (7)
 - 5 Woolen garments prove best in test arranged (4-3)
 - 9 Loved getting about a quarter decorated (7)
 - 10 This might well give the viewer better definition (7)
 - 11 Peers had a problem — offensive leaders (8)
 - 12 Praise given at one time to the Left (5)
 - 13 Spoken about quietly, which is most pleasant (5)
 - 15 The person looking around these rigs will make changes (9)
 - 17 Sort of spine seen by many a doctor in the city (9)
 - 19 An equestrian recommendation offered in court (5)
 - 22 Old Greek's room (5)
 - 23 Paper for the artist in a hospital bed? (4-5)
 - 25 Fire the taller? (7)
 - 26 Modish environment of

- Down**
- 1 Gathers a university man fools around (7)
 - 2 Couples posed for a photograph (5-2)
 - 3 An address in Spain — a little house normally (5)
 - 4 Changed and made up (9)
 - 5 With German backing, one dunderhead is retiring (5)
 - 6 He'll check out a six-footer carrying cash and gold (5)
 - 7 Let rats free to shock people (7)
 - 8 Its operators bag some profit in the main (7)
 - 14 The way of management (9)
 - 16 Exceptionally endearing, being cordial (9)

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